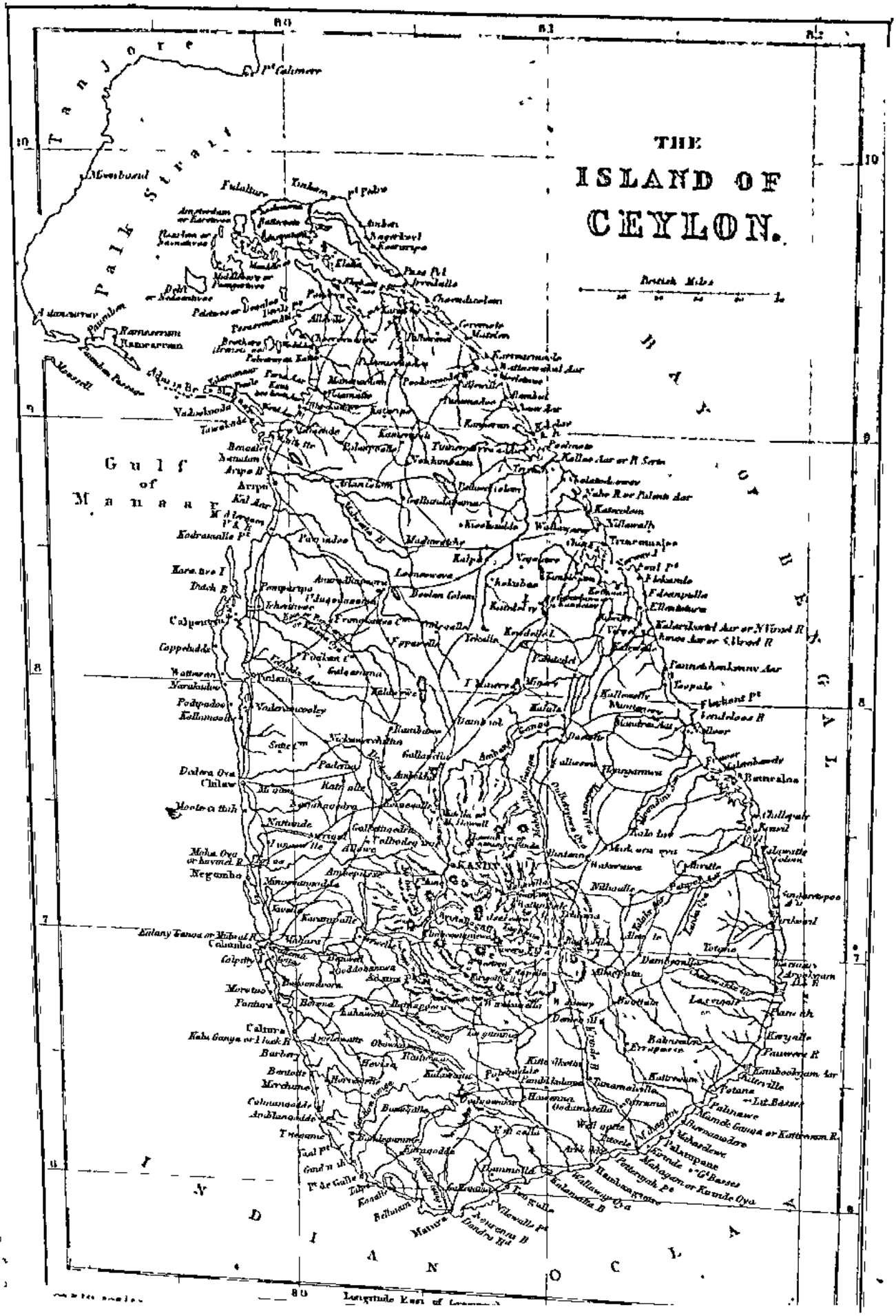

THE
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CEYLON.
British Miles
Gulf of Manaar
Palk Strait
INDIAN OCEAN
Longitude East of
Point Calimere
Jaffnapatam
Manaar I.
Aripo
Mantotte
Colombo
Galle
Point de Galle
Dondra Head
Trincomalee
Batticaloa
Point Pedro
KANDY
Negombo
Caltura
Matura
Hambantotte
Pettah
Fort
Light House
Mosque
Church
Temple
Ruins
Pagoda
Hospital
Barracks
Gaol
Custom House
Ferry
Ford
Bridge
Road
Path
Mountain
Hill
Rock
Wood
Cocoa Nut Trees
Cinnamon
Paddy Fields
Rice Grounds
Coffee Plantations
Cultivation
Anchorage
Fishing Stations
Pearl Fishery
Chank Fishery
Coral Banks
Shoals
Sand Banks
Rocks
Soundings
Fathoms
Lighthouse
Beacon
Buoy
Signal Post
Telegraph
Boundary
Province
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Village
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Bungalow
Rest House
Dispensary
Police Station
Court House
Prison
Jail
Cemetery
Burial Ground
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Fort
Redoubt
Entrenchment
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Magazine
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Dockyard
Shipbuilding
Timber
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Ebony
Satinwood
Iron
Copper
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Gold
Silver
Precious Stones
Rubies
Sapphires
Topazes
Garnets
Tourmalines
Zircons
Spinels
Quartz
Crystal
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Brook
Rivulet
Waterfall
Cataract
Rapids
Ford
Ferry
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Mountain
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Cocoa Nut Trees
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Paddy Fields
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Meadow
Swamp
Marsh
Lake
Pond
Tank
Reservoir
Canal
River
Stream
Brook
Rivulet
Waterfall
Cataract
Rapids

COMPREHENSIVE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL,

FROM

THE FIRST LANDING OF THE ENGLISH,

TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT,

INCLUDING

AN OUTLINE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF HINDOOSTAN.

By HENRY BEVERIDGE, Esq.,

ADVOCATE

ILLUSTRATED BY ABOVE FIVE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS.

DIVISION VII.

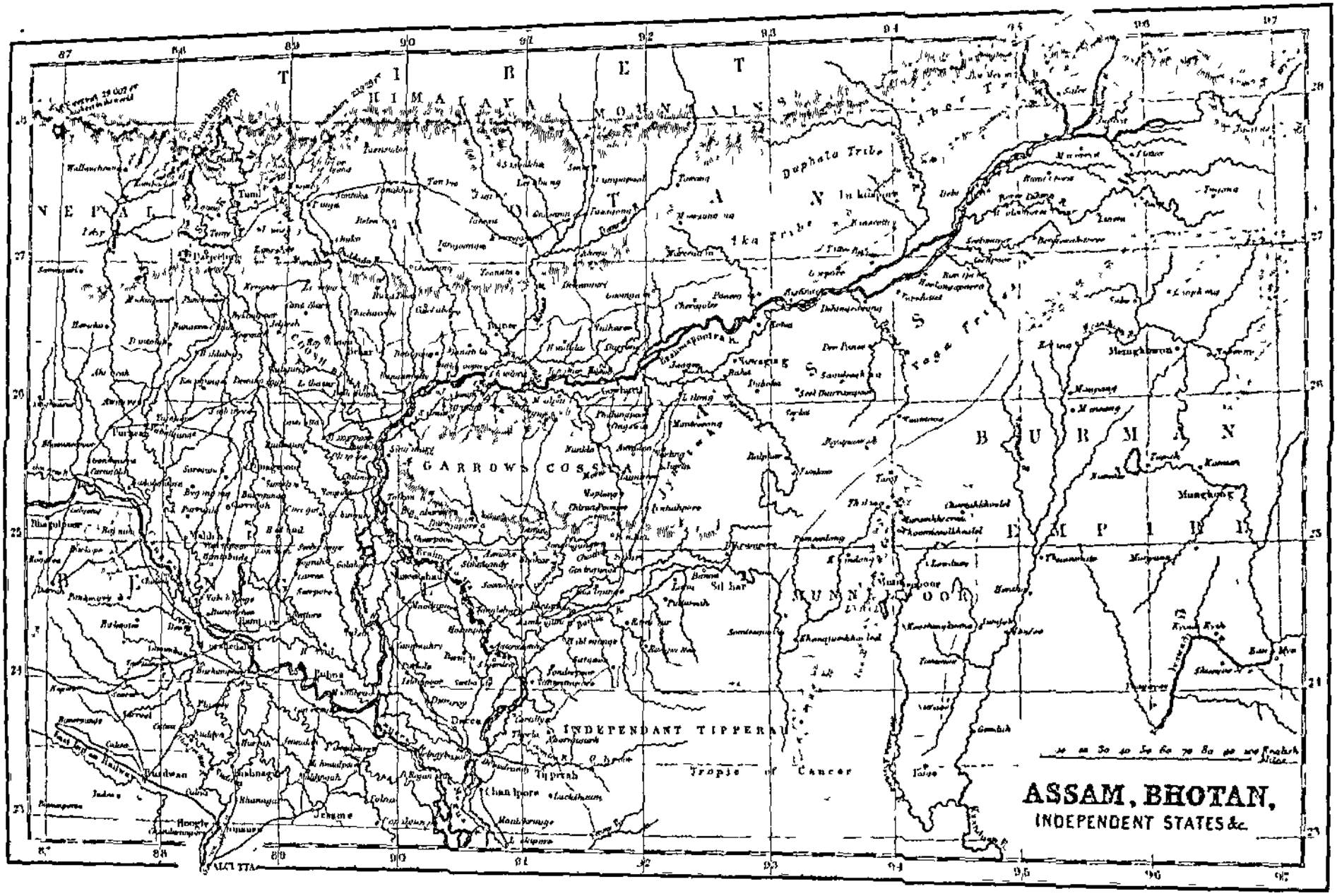


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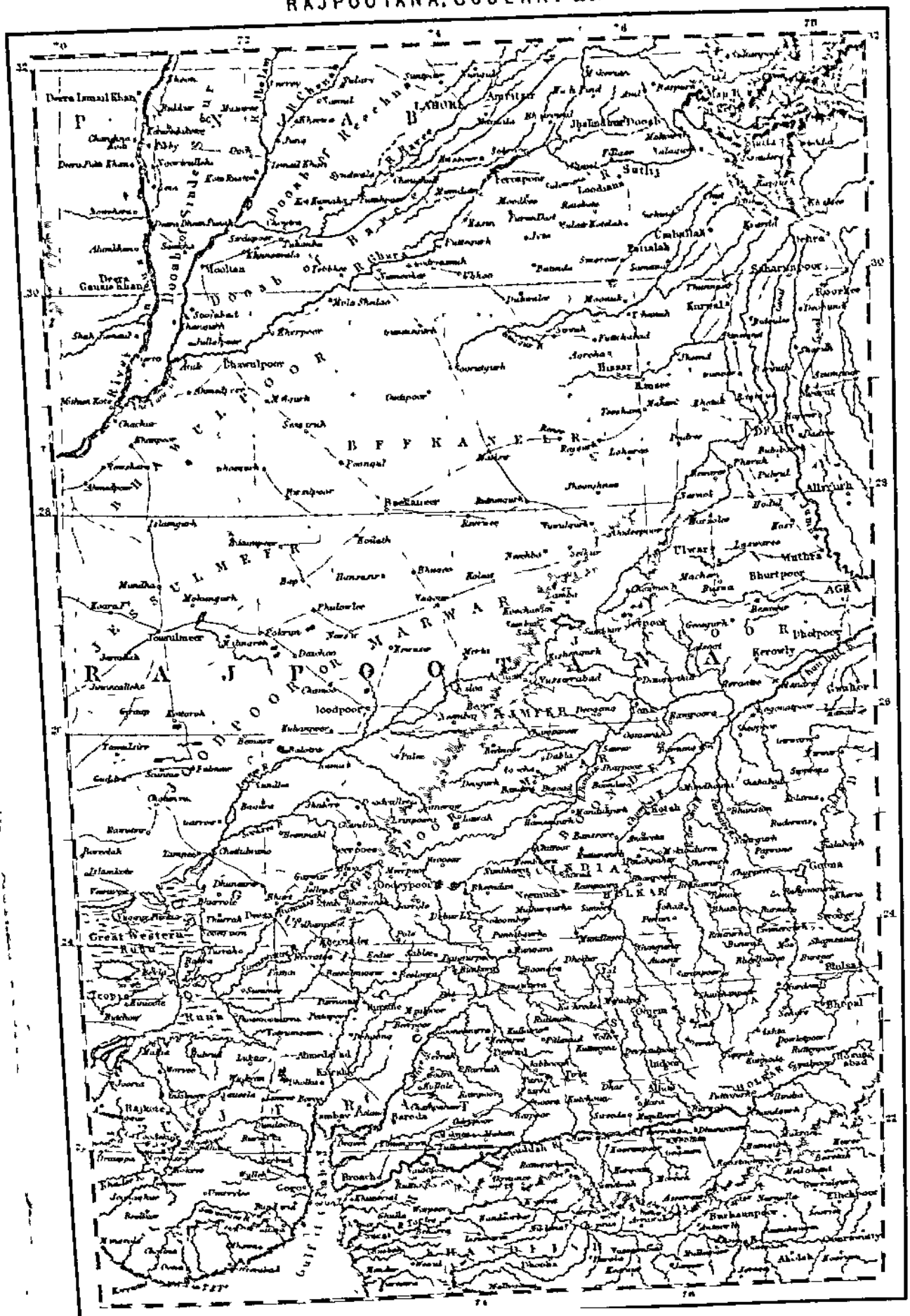
BLACKIE AND SON, PATERNOSTER ROW, E. C.,

AND GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

MDCCCLXI.


T I B E T
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
NEPAUL
Duphala Tribe
BURMAN
EMPIRE
GARROWS
COSSIA
JYNTIA
INDEPENDANT TIPPERAH
Tropic of Cancer
ASSAM, BHOTAN,
INDEPENDENT STATES &c.

RAJPOOTANA, GUJERAT &c.



general was made a kind of scape-goat in this quarrel, and subjected to numerous annoyances which at times resembled studied insults. Lord Clive, who had been throughout the steady supporter of his policy as governor of Madras, suffered in the same way, and therefore had also tendered his resignation.

Though Marquis Wellesley did not state his reasons for resigning to the directors, he freely communicated them to Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, and then secretary of state. In a letter addressed to him ten days after that addressed to the directors, he gives a list of grievances. It is unnecessary to enumerate them further than has been done already, but as the charge brought against the governor-general and his still more celebrated brother, Colonel Wellesley, in regard to the emoluments drawn by the latter, still possesses public interest, the indignant refutation of it deserves to be quoted. "Can the court of directors," he asks, "suppose that I am capable of permitting the government of Fort St. George to grant an extravagant allowance to my brother, and that my brother is capable of accepting such an allowance? If such be the opinion of the court, it ought to remove Colonel Wellesley from his command, and me from my government. The fact is, that the allowance is scarcely equal to the unavoidable expenses of Colonel Wellesley's situation, which is known to be of a very peculiar nature, involving the necessity of a great establishment and of other charges requisite for the maintenance of our interest in that recently conquered kingdom." After dwelling on the affront to his brother, he continues thus, "It cannot be denied that the court, by reducing the established allowances of Colonel Wellesley, has offered me the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised. The effect of this order must be to inculcate an opinion that I have suffered my brother to derive emoluments beyond the limits of justice and propriety, and that I have exhibited an example of profusion and extravagance in an allowance granted to my nearest connection. I have already stated that the ground of the order is as unjust and unwarranted in point of fact as its operation is calculated to be injurious and humiliating to my reputation and honour. If the court of directors really was of opinion that Colonel Wellesley's allowances were too high, the respectful and decorous course would have been to have referred the question to my consideration; nor can it be imagined that the court would have omitted so indispensable a precaution of delicacy and justice, unless the court acted under a strong sense of displeasure and discontent at the general tenor of my administration, and under the influence of an intolerable jealousy of my intentions." The court of directors, though differing with him on some material points, were aware how difficult it might be to supply his place, and therefore, expressing their high sense of the zeal and ability which he had displayed, and of the advantages which the Company would derive from his continuance in office, begged him to prolong his stay for at least another year. With this request he immediately complied.

He can to with it

A D 1800.

Pursuit of Dhoondia Waugh

Before concluding the present chapter, it will not be out of place to record the fate of Dhoondia Waugh. After he had taken refuge within the Mahratta territory, and been pillaged by Dhondoo Punt Gokla, as has been already described, he entered the service of the Rajah of Kolapoor, who was then at war with the peishwa, but soon again became his own master, and commenced his depredations. Having appeared on the frontiers of Mysore at the head of 5000 horse, and assumed the title of "King of the World," or "King of the Two Worlds," the Madras government instructed Colonel Wellesley "to pursue him wherever he could be found, and to hang him on the first tree." The service was not one in which many laurels could be gained, and yet it was not without importance. "Dhoondia," as Colonel Wellesley remarked in a letter to Lord Clive, "is certainly a despicable enemy, but from circumstances he is one against whom we have been obliged to make a formidable preparation. If we do not get him, we must expect a general insurrection of all the discontented and disaffected in these countries." Before the British troops took the field against him, both the Nizam and the Mahrattas had commenced the pursuit. The latter, so far from succeeding, sustained a severe defeat. They were commanded by Dhondoo Punt Gokla, against whom Dhoondia had vowed vengeance, declaring that he would either sacrifice his own life, or dye his mustachios in the heart's blood of Dhondoo Punt. This ferocious vow he is said to have literally fulfilled, by lying in ambush in a wood, and watching his opportunity. At last he came suddenly upon Dhondoo Punt when he was separated from the main body of his followers, slew him along with several persons of note, and then following up his advantage, obliged the whole Mahratta detachment to take refuge in the fort of Hullyhul, garrisoned by British troops

He is defeated and slain

As Dhoondia was now held to be a common enemy, Colonel Wellesley, before starting, had received permission from the peishwa to follow him if necessary into the very heart of the Mahratta territory. Without this nothing could have been done, for Dhoondia had already crossed the frontier, and moved north as far as the right bank of the Malpurba, when, on the 31st of July, 1800, Colonel Wellesley surprised his camp, and as he himself relates, "drove into the river or destroyed everybody that was in it." Dhoondia, however, made his escape, and was ere long once more at the head of a large body of marauders. Six weeks more had been spent in a harassing pursuit, when he was overtaken on the 10th of September. The result cannot be better told than in Colonel Wellesley's own words Writing on the 11th from his camp at Yepulpurry, he says: "After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning and met the King of the World with his army, about 5000 horse, at a village called Conahgull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night, and had thought that I was at Chinnoor. He was marching to the westward, with the intention of passing between the

Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position as soon as he perceived me; and the 'victorious army' stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2d regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock; and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the rebellious army. Thus has ended this warfare, and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country." He writes this confidently, because Dhoondia himself was among the slain. The importance of the event was not overrated by Major (afterwards Sir) Thomas Monro, when he remarked half jocularly to Colonel Wellesley, "Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Dhoondia would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince, and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous sultans"

A. D. 1800

Defeat and death of Dhoondia Waugh.

CHAPTER VII.

New treaty with the Nizam—State of affairs among the Mahrattas—The treaty of Bassein—A new Mahratta war—Operations in the Deccan—Victory of Assaye—Operations in Gujerat and Cuttack—Operations in Hindoostan under General Lake—Storming of Alighur—Battle and occupation of Delhi—Capture of Agra—Battle of Laswaree—Conquest of Bundelcund—Battle of Argaom—Siege of Gawilghur—Peace with Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla

MARQUIS WELLESLEY, in agreeing to prolong his stay in India, had been influenced, not so much by the request of the directors as by the menacing aspect which affairs were rapidly assuming. It required little political sagacity to perceive that the peace of Amiens could not be lasting, and both the dissensions which prevailed among the Mahrattas, and the hostile spirit manifested by several of their leaders, made it impossible to say how soon a new Indian war of a very formidable description might become inevitable. Under these circumstances the governor-general, even before the flattering request of the directors reached him, had so far retracted his intention of resigning, as to intimate that he would remain until there was a greater prospect of permanent tranquillity. The causes of threatened disturbance must now be briefly traced. The Mahrattas, who had marked the Nizam for their prey, were greatly disappointed and offended at the treaty, by which he dissolved his connections with the French, and placed himself entirely under the protection

New sources of disturbance

A.D. 1800

of the Company. Of course, they were still more disappointed and offended when they found that treaty superseded by another, which established an absolute identity of interest between the contracting parties, and made the Nizam not so much the ally of the Company as their vassal. By this latter treaty, concluded 12th October, 1800, the Nizam was furnished with two battalions of sepoys and a regiment of native cavalry, as an addition to the former subsidiary force, and agreed to cede to the Company in perpetuity as much territory as would yield a revenue equal to the amount of subsidy which he would otherwise have been bound to pay. The possibility of arrears, and of the disputes to which they might have given rise, was thus precluded, and at the same time the sacrifice made by the Nizam was felt to be comparatively slight, because the territories ceded consisted almost entirely of those which he had acquired from Mysore, in the wars of 1792 and 1799, and scarcely trenched at all on his hereditary dominions, the integrity of which was henceforth guaranteed While the British government were pledged not to interfere in any way with his children, relations, or subjects, and declared that in regard to these they would always consider him absolute, they engaged not to permit any power or state whatever to commit with impunity any act of unprovoked aggression on his territories As a necessary counterpart of this obligation, he engaged neither to commit hostilities against other states, nor to enter into negotiation with them, without informing and consulting the Company, and in the event of differences arising between him and any other state, he was taken bound to submit them to the Company, and acquiesce in their final decision

Relations with the Nizam

State of affairs among the Mahrattas.

In the above treaty the Mahrattas were not entirely overlooked, for it was expressly stipulated, that in the event of either the peishwa, Ragojee Bhonsla, or Dowlut Row Scindia, desiring to become a party to it, all or either of them should be admitted to all its advantages Whatever these might be, the Mahrattas were little disposed, and even if disposed would scarcely have been able to avail themselves of them Nana Furnavese, who had long conducted the government at Poonah in name of the peishwa, with so much ability and craftiness as to merit the surname of the Indian Machiavelli, died at a very advanced age, on the 13th of March, 1800 He was undoubtedly a great statesman, and during the latter part of his life compensated by wisdom, moderation, and a patriotic spirit, for the errors into which an inordinate ambition had led him. His death was the signal for new dissensions. The peishwa and Dowlut Row Scindia, bent on seizing the immense treasures which he was believed to have accumulated, quarrelled over them Other disputes followed, and disorders everywhere prevailed. After a kind of anarchy, Scindia re-established his ascendency, and while pretending the utmost deference for the peishwa Bajee Row, kept him virtually a prisoner in his palace, by placing a guard over him This was a thraldom from which Bajee Row was of course

anxious to be delivered, and he looked anxiously about for the means he could only obtain by two courses of policy, of which the one was to counterbalance the power of Scindia by encouraging some rival confederate, and the other to accept of a subsidiary force with which the governor-general was willing on certain conditions to furnish him. He preferred the former course, and at one time hoped to be able to carry it out by means of Jeswunt Row Holkar, who, without possessing any legitimate claim, had succeeded in placing himself at the head of the Holkar family. As he will soon occupy a prominent place in our narrative, a brief account of that family, and of the means by which he became its head, may now be given. These A.D. 1800. The Mahrattas.

The Holkar family are Sudras of the Dhoongur or shepherd tribe, and take their name from their native village of Hull or Hohl, on the Neera, forty-five miles south-east of Poonah. The first member who acquired distinction was Mulhar Row Holkar. He was born about 1693, and owing to his father's death was removed at the age of five to Candeish, where he was brought up by his maternal uncle. His first employment was to tend his uncle's sheep. One day as he lay asleep in the fields, a cobra-da-capello was seen to interpose its crest between his face and the rays of the sun. This was deemed so favourable an omen that he was sent to push his fortune as a horseman in the service of a Mahratta chief of the name of Kuddum Bandee. He soon attracted notice, acquired some wealth by the marriage of Golama Baee, his uncle's daughter, and entered the service of the peishwa Bajee Row, who at once gave him the command of 500 horse. Shortly afterwards, he accompanied Chimnajee, the peishwa's brother, on an expedition to the Concan, and greatly assisted in wresting Bassein and various other places from the Portuguese. So rapid was his subsequent progress, that in 1728 he received a jaghire of twelve, and in 1731 another jaghire of no fewer than seventy districts, north of the Nerbudda. In 1750, after Malwah was conquered, nearly the whole of its territories were divided between Holkar and Scindia, the former receiving 74⅛ lacs (£745,000), and the latter 65½ lacs (£655,000) of revenue. Mulhar Row now fixed his residence at Indore, which in consequence assumed the dignity and importance of a capital. As the Mahrattas were bent on extending their arms northwards, Mulhar Row was chiefly employed in Hindoostan, and took the lead in most of their operations in that quarter. He was one of the few Mahratta chiefs who escaped unhurt from the disastrous battle of Paniput. It has been alleged that on this day he did not perform his part, and drew off, offended with Sedasheo Bhow, the Mahratta commander-in-chief, who, when urged by him to delay the action for a day or two, disdainfully exclaimed—"Who wants advice from a goatherd?" Another and more probable account is that Mulhar Row owed his escape to the superior manner in which he kept his troops together, and conducted their retreat. He subsequently acquired considerable tracts in Rajpootana and in the Deccan. His merit as an administrator was not less than his Rise of the Holkar family. Mulhar Row Holkar

nearly eighteen months he made his escape, and arrived in great destitution at Dhar, where he was hospitably received by Anund Row, the head of the family of Puar. Scindia no sooner heard of his asylum than he threatened Anund Row with vengeance if he were not seized or expelled; and Jeswunt Row, to spare his benefactor, departed of his own accord with a few attendant horsemen and a small sum of money, which enabled him to raise about 120 half-armed foot. With these he surprised a small body of Casee Row's household troops, and completely defeated them. This first success was followed by others, but as he knew that his illegitimacy would prevent the great body of the adherents of the Hŭlkar family from joining his standard if he made war in his own name, he professed to have espoused the cause of Kundee Row, the infant son of Mulhar Row, who, since Casee Row's incapacity made him a mere tool in the hands of Scindia, was, he maintained, the true heir. This profession did him good service, and he began to collect an army, composed indiscriminately of adventurers of all kinds—Mahrattas, Rajpoots, Afghans, Bheels, and Pindarries.

A.D. 1798.

Jeswunt Row Holkar.

Jeswunt Row's force continuing to accumulate, some leaders of note began to join him; and he added greatly to his strength by entering into an arrangement with Ameer Khan, a Mahometan predatory chief, who was then encamped with 1500 foot in the vicinity of Bhopaul, a city of Malwah situated on the northern slope of the Vindhya Mountains. The terms of the agreement concluded in 1798 were, that the two chiefs should unite their fortunes, and share equally in all future conquest and plunder. The work of depredation was immediately commenced, and considerable sums were obtained by levying forced contributions. After a successful encounter with one of Casee Row's officers, Jeswunt Row moved directly against Mhysir, which was then considered the capital of the Holkar dominions, and obtained a large sum in money and jewels. While at Mhysir, the accidental bursting of a musket in his hand deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes, and three months elapsed before he was again able to take the field. The time, however, was not lost, as it enabled him to give a more perfect organization to his army, while Ameer Khan successfully carried on the predatory warfare. At Saugur, in particular, where the work of unrestrained pillage was carried on for nearly a whole month, an enormous booty was obtained. Under such a mode of warfare discipline was impossible, and Ameer Khan's force degenerated into a mere rabble. The fact was not unobserved, and an unexpected attack by an officer of the Rajah of Berar gave him a severe check. A timely reinforcement by Jeswunt Row saved him, and by means of their united forces the half of Malwah was overrun before Scindia could take any effectual steps for its protection.

His league with Ameer Khan.

As soon as Scindia was in the field with his battalions the war assumed a different form, and several well-contested battles were fought. One of these, which took place in 1799, in the vicinity of Oojein, Scindia's capital, was gained mainly by Jeswunt Row's courage and talent. The capture of Oojein

A D 1799. itself followed. On this occasion Jeswunt Row showed how superior his discipline was to that of Ameer Khan Instead of giving up the city to indiscriminate plunder, he took the more effectual plan of replenishing his treasury by a heavy contribution levied upon the inhabitants, in proportion to their real or supposed wealth The victory of Oojein was ere long followed by a reverse, which deprived Jeswunt Row of all its advantages, and brought him to the very brink of destruction He had left his success, in another pitched battle fought near Indore, to depend on the success of a stratagem which failed, and was obliged to flee with a mere remnant of his army, leaving his guns, camp, and capital in the hands of the enemy. So disastrous was this defeat, that on his arrival at Mhysir he plainly informed his adherents that his means of giving them regular pay was at an end, that all he could now do was to lead them to plunder. The announcement is said to have been received with acclamations, as no doubt was entertained that under his leadership far more than regular pay would in this way be obtained.

Jeswunt Row's victory at Oojein, and subsequent reverse at Indore

His predatory warfare.

Under this new system, Jeswunt Row's ranks were rapidly recruited, and he again assumed so formidable an appearance that Scindia, who found himself unable to save his provinces from devastation, would willingly have made peace with him on favourable terms. The peishwa, who had at one time intended to use Jeswunt Row's influence as a counterpoise to that of Scindia, had by an act of barbarism made this impossible Etojee or Wittoojee Holkar, the only full brother of Jeswunt Row, having, during the distractions which prevailed at Poonah, joined a body of insurgent horse, was taken prisoner. Considering the services which his father Tookajee had rendered, some mercy might have been shown him, but Bajee Row was of an implacable temper, and forgetting all that Tookajee had done for him, remembered only that he had once been leagued with Nana Furnavese against him This was enough, and nothing but an atrocious execution would satisfy him Having seated himself with his favourite at a window of his palace, he ordered Etojee to be brought out and tied to the foot of an elephant. The unhappy victim cried for mercy, but the peishwa, turning a deaf ear to his supplications, looked on with composure, while the elephant dragged him forth from the palace-yard to crush him to death in the public street. Besides glutting his revenge, he meant by this barbarous proceeding to please Scindia, who had him completely in his power. In this he may have succeeded, but he appears to have forgotten that he was at the same time provoking the just vengeance of a formidable enemy. Jeswunt Row loved his brother, and vowed not to rest till he had retaliated on those whom he held to be his murderers. The cowardly peishwa would have stooped to any means of propitiating his wrath He offered to release the young son of Mulhar Row who was detained at Poonah, or to recognize himself as the heir of the Holkar family; but Jeswunt Row rose in his demands in proportion to the concessions offered, and finding himself strong enough deter-

Cruel execution of his brother by the peishwa.

mined to change the seat of war to the Deccan. When at last, after pillaging the territories of Scindia and the peishwa without distinction, he was seen advancing on Poonah, the consternation was extreme, and the peishwa, driven from all other resources, made overtures for a British subsidiary force. As yet, however, he was not so far humbled as to accept the only terms on which the governor-general was willing to grant it, and having once more made common cause with Scindia, he determined to wait the result of an appeal to arms. An attempt was made to oppose Holkar at the Ally Beylah Pass, but he avoided it by making a circuit to the east, passed Ahmednuggur, and finally on the 23d of October encamped near Loone, a few miles east of Poonah. Two days afterwards the encounter took place. The field was well contested and the issue so doubtful, that Holkar, seeing part of his army seized with panic, exclaimed, "As for me, I have no intention of surviving this day; if I do not gain the victory, where can I flee?" His words were well seconded by his actions. Bringing forward his best infantry, and heading his cavalry in charge after charge, he at length carried all before him. Scindia quitted the field in the utmost disorder, leaving all his guns, stores, and baggage behind. The road to Poonah was now open, but Holkar would not allow his troops to enter, and when some of the Afghan marauders attempted to force their way he drove them back by turning his guns upon them.

A.D. 1802.

Jeswunt Row's hostilities with the peishwa and Scindia

The peishwa, who had made sure of victory, quitted his palace in the morning, with the intention of taking part in the action. On hearing the noise of the firing his courage failed, and he turned off to the southward to await the result. The moment it was determined he hastened off to Singhur, and sent a message to Colonel Close, the British resident, binding himself to subsidize six battalions of sepoys, and cede territory of the annual value of twenty-five lacs (£250,000) for their support. After remaining three days at Singhur, he continued his flight, first to Raghur and then to Mhar, from which he despatched a letter requesting the government of Bombay to send shipping to convey him thither. Before a reply was received he repaired to Severndroog, and finally embarked at Rewadunda in a British ship, which carried him to Bassein, where he arrived on the 6th of December, 1802.

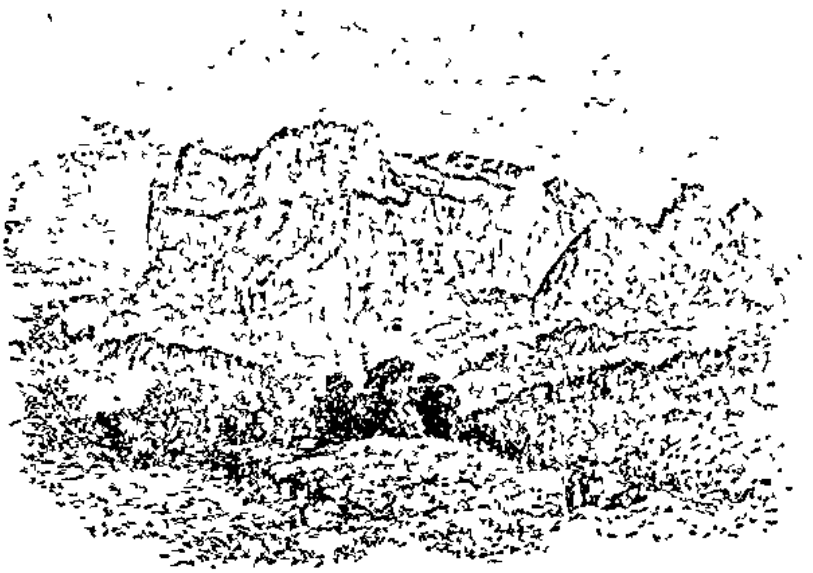
His victory near Poonah.

The day after the action, Colonel Close at Holkar's request paid him a visit, and found him "in a small tent, ankle deep in mud, wounded by a spear, and with a sabre cut in the head." He expressed himself in the most friendly terms towards the British government, and solicited Colonel Close to mediate in settling his differences with Scindia and the peishwa. His subsequent proceedings cast some doubt on his sincerity. Be this as it may, Colonel Close, after being detained by him nearly a month, quitted Poonah. Passports for this purpose were granted with much seeming reluctance. Holkar's moderation after his victory was not of long continuance. He had hoped by means of it to induce Bajee Row to return. Having failed in this object he threw off

Colonel Close visits him in his camp

A.D 1802. disguise, and not only levied a contribution on Poonah for the purpose of paying his troops, but placed Amrut Row, the peishwa's brother by adoption, on the musnud, and began a course of indiscriminate extortion and plunder. Having

Jeswunt Row Holkar



Hill-fort of Raghur.—From Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

discharged the arrears of pay and replenished his treasury with the booty thus obtained, he marched off towards Central India.

Treaty of Bassein

Colonel Close arrived at Bombay on the 3d of December, and proceeded to Bassein. On the evening of the 6th, the very day on which the peishwa landed, he waited upon him, and entered on the subject of the proposed treaty. Its various articles were discussed for the first time on the 18th, and by the 31st everything was arranged. The treaty, consisting of nineteen articles, is of great length. Its leading provisions were, that a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, with the usual complement of field-pieces and European artillerymen, should be stationed by the Company within the peishwa's territories, and that to meet the annual expense the peishwa should cede to the Company in perpetuity territory yielding a revenue of twenty-six lacs—that the contracting parties would reciprocally protect the territories of each other, and of their allies, the Company engaging in the event of war to furnish as large a force as possible, and the peishwa to furnish, in addition to four of the subsidiary battalions, at least 6000 foot and 10,000 horse, to be employed as circumstances might require—that the peishwa would not make any aggression on other states, nor negotiate with them, without informing and consulting the Company—and that both in regard to existing, and in the event of future differences, he would allow the Company to arbitrate, and submit to their award. By other articles the peishwa engaged not to allow any Europeans belonging to a nation at war with Great Britain, or engaged in intriguing against British interests, to reside within his territories, and agreed to

commute or abandon certain Mahratta claims on Surat and other districts. The subsidiary force was "to be at all times ready for such services as the due correction of his highness's subjects and dependants, and the overawing and chastising of rebels, or exciters of disturbance;" but the Company were "to have no manner of concern with any of his highness's children, relations, subjects, or servants; with respect to whom his highness is absolute." A.D. 1802. Treaty of Bassein

The peishwa had no sooner purchased security at the expense of independence, than he began to waver and question the propriety of the course which he had adopted. He was well aware how obnoxious the treaty would be to Scindia, and Ragojee Bhonsla, Rajah of Berar, had repeatedly warned him against any step which would increase British influence, and yet he had now rendered himself entirely subservient to it. Ostensibly for the purpose of explaining the treaty and urging them to become parties to it, but really for the purpose of excusing himself for having sought European protection, he despatched an envoy to each of them with a letter, in which he urged them to march with all speed to Poonah, and punish the rebel Holkar. With his usual craft he said nothing of the British, calculating that in the event of a collision, which he evidently anticipated, he would be able, by not having committed himself, to obtain the protection of the winning party. The governor-general, who had repeatedly urged Scindia to conclude a treaty similar to that of Bassein, was in hopes that he would see the necessity of giving in his adherence to it, and sent him an invitation to that effect through Colonel Collins. At first Scindia evaded discussion, but on being pressed declared that he would neither join the defensive alliance nor obstruct it, though he expected that, as the guarantee of the treaty of Salbye, he would have been consulted before new arrangements were made. His intentions, however, he declared, were in every respect friendly to the British government. So far was this from being true, that he had despatched an envoy to Ragojee Bhonsla, for the purpose of cementing a general Mahratta confederacy against the British as the common enemy. Scindia declines to accede to it.

No time was lost in making the necessary preparations to re-establish the peishwa at Poonah. On the 25th of March, 1803, Colonel Stevenson, at the head of the Nizam's subsidiary force and two regiments of native cavalry, mustering in all above 8000 men, and accompanied by 15,000 of the Nizam's own troops, took up a position at Purinda on the peishwa's frontier, about 100 miles east of his capital, and at the same time Major-general Wellesley (such was now his rank) arrived on the northern frontier of Mysore, at the head of 8000 infantry and 1700 cavalry. On the banks of the Kistna, General Wellesley was joined by numerous Mahratta jaghiredars in the peishwa's interest, and began his advance on Poonah. Holkar's troops retired precipitately as he approached, and as it was learned that he had left only a small garrison in the capital, with instructions to burn it before leaving. General The peishwa re-established by a British force.

A D 1803. Wellesley hastened forward with his cavalry, and took possession of it without opposition, on the 20th of April. Colonel Stevenson, whose co-operation was no longer required, moved north towards the Godavery to protect the country against Holkar's marauders. On the 13th of May the peishwa arrived from Bassein, and resumed his seat on the musnud amid general rejoicings

The peishwa re-established by a British force

Scindia, who proceeded to the north after his defeat, had in the meantime returned, crossed the Nerbudda, and encamped at Boorhanpoor on the Nizam's



Bazaar in Scindia's Camp [1]—From Broughton's Letters written in a Mahratta Camp

Hostile intentions of Scindia

frontiers Though his professions were still friendly, he had through his ministers remonstrated against the British advance on Poonah, and was busily engaged in concert with Ragojee Bhonsla in preparing for war. It was even understood that he had made overtures to Holkar, and was aiming at nothing less than a general Mahratta confederacy, the object of which was obvious. From letters afterwards discovered, it appears that his designs were countenanced by the peishwa himself Under these circumstances, the resident at his court was instructed that he should retire from the threatening position he occupied on the Nizam's frontier, or give some unequivocal proof that his intentions were not hostile. As the most effectual means of seconding the remonstrances of the resident, General Wellesley advanced a few marches to the northward of Poonah, so as to have an opportunity of daily communication with him, and also of co-operating if necessary with Colonel Stevenson. On the 27th of May, the resident at an interview with Scindia formally communicated to him the treaty of Bassein. He went over it article by article, and

[1] "The shops called *dokans* are pitched in two lines running parallel to each other, and thus form one grand street, from the front to the rear of the army. This street often extends three or four miles, the *decoree*—tents of princes, &c.—being situated about three-fourths of the whole length from the front, having only the market, called the *chuoree bazaar*, in its rear. The shops which comprise the bazaar are mostly formed of blankets or coarse cloth, stretched over a bamboo, or some other stick, for a ridge pole, supported at either end by a forked stick fixed into the ground These habitations are called *pals*, and are of all sizes, from three to eight or nine feet high, and proportionally long, according to the circumstances of the owners."—Broughton's *Letters written in a Mahratta Camp.*

admitted that he saw nothing which trenched in the least on his legitimate authority. When pressed as to his intentions, he not only refused to explain them, but put an end to all further discussion by the following astounding announcement:—"After my interview with the Rajah of Berar, you shall be informed whether it will be peace or war." A.D. 1803.

As war seemed now to be inevitable, the governor general vested General Wellesley and Lord Lake, the respective commanders of the armies of the Deccan and of Hindoostan, with the most complete military, civil, and political powers. General Wellesley was specially authorized to negotiate with Scindia, Holkar, and Ragojee Bhonsla, with a view to their retirement within their own territories, or the granting of some sufficient pledge of pacific intentions within a certain number of days; should they by their refusal make war inevitable, he was to carry it on in the most active manner, and listen to no proposals of peace till the chiefs against whom the war was directed should be rendered incapable of further mischief. Lord Lake was informed that if war took place its objects were to be the complete reduction of the power which the French were establishing in Hindoostan by means of Scindia's brigades, the occupation of the whole of the Doab and of Bundelcund, and the possession of Delhi, Agra, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna A new Mahratta war.

On the 14th of July General Wellesley addressed a letter to Scindia, in which, after pointing out the friendly purposes of the treaty of Bassein, and the apparently hostile intentions manifested by the confederate chiefs, he called upon him to separate his army from that of Ragojee Bhonsla and recross the Nerbudda. This being done, he would on his part withdraw the British troops to their ordinary stations. Four days after writing this letter he was made acquainted with the above powers conferred by the governor-general; he communicated them to Scindia, and at the same time instructed the resident, in the event of his former demands not being complied with, to withdraw instantly from the Mahratta camp Scindia at first seemed disposed to yield, but after a conference with Ragojee Bhonsla, and a delay of a few days, returned for answer on the 25th of July that they were within their own territories, and would promise not to pass the Adjunta Hills, nor march to Bonah; as to the treaty of Bassein, they had already assured the governor-general that they would not interfere with it. After a number of promises and evasions, by which they managed to spin out the time till the 3d of August, the resident quitted the Mahratta camp, and General Wellesley prepared to commence hostilities by the attack of the fortress of Ahmednuggur The pettah or town, which had a lofty wall flanked with towers, but no rampart, was defended by a number of Arabs, supported by a battalion of Scindia's regular infantry, and a body of horse, who lay encamped in an open space between the town and fort. The resistance was vigorous, the enemy retiring to the houses after the wall was forced, and keeping up a destructive fire from them. The capture. General Wellesley commands in the Deccan

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however, was completed in a single day. On the following day, the 9th of August, the general, after reconnoitring the fort, seized a position within 400 yards of it. In the course of the night a battery of four guns was erected, and in the morning at daylight it opened with such effect that the killedar offered to treat for surrender. Immediate submission was demanded; and at last, on the 11th, he surrendered, on being permitted to depart with his garrison and private property. The possession of this place was of great importance, from its position on the Nizam's frontier, and the facilities it afforded for future operations, by furnishing a large and secure depôt for provisions and military stores.

Capture of Ahmednuggur



General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B
From a print published in 1810, after a picture by Robert Home

After this capture, and the occupation of the adjoining districts, General Wellesley moved to the Godavery, and crossed it on the 24th of August, Colonel Stevenson in the meantime moving northwards in the direction of Aurungabad. Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were now also in motion. After penetrating the Adjunta Pass, they had marched eastward, and seized Jalnapore, or Jaulna, about forty miles east of Aurungabad, and then, on finding that General Wellesley had arrived at Aurungabad on the 29th, turned suddenly to the south-east, as if intending to cross the Godavery and make a dash at Hyderabad, where the death of Nizam Ali on the 6th, and the succession of his son Secunder Jah, were perhaps supposed to favour their attempt. To counteract this design, and either bring them to a general action, or compel them to a retreat, General Wellesley followed close on their track, and so completely checked their operations to the south, that they hastened back and took up a position to the north of Jalnapore. On the 2d of September this fort was taken by Colonel Stevenson, who, being now in the immediate vicinity of the confederates, endeavoured to bring them to action. In this he failed; though he afterwards succeeded by a night attack in throwing their camp into the greatest consternation, and in inflicting upon them a considerable loss.

Movements of Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla

On the 21st of September the whole of the Mahratta army, joined by their infantry, which consisted of sixteen battalions of regular infantry, was encamped

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south side of the river to check the movements of the enemy's horse, of which a considerable number had crossed the Kailna, and followed the British in their movement eastward. This was the ostensible reason—but there is said to have been another. Intelligence had been received that the peishwa's cavalry intended to join Scindia, instead of attacking him, and were therefore placed where they could do the least mischief The first line of British infantry consisted of the advanced pickets to the right, two battalions of sepoys, and his majesty's 78th Highlanders; the second of his majesty's 74th regiment and two battalions of sepoys; and the third of his majesty's 19th dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry; in all 4500 men. Opposed to them were Monsieur Pohlman's brigade of 6000 men, Dupont's of 2500, and four battalions, mustering 2000 men, belonging to the Begum Sumroo. These, forming 10,500 disciplined troops, commanded by European officers, were exclusive of the artillerymen, Scindia's irregular infantry, and the infantry of the Rajah of Berar In addition to all these was a well-appointed train of artillery, exceeding 100 guns, and large bodies of horse, estimated at nearly 40,000

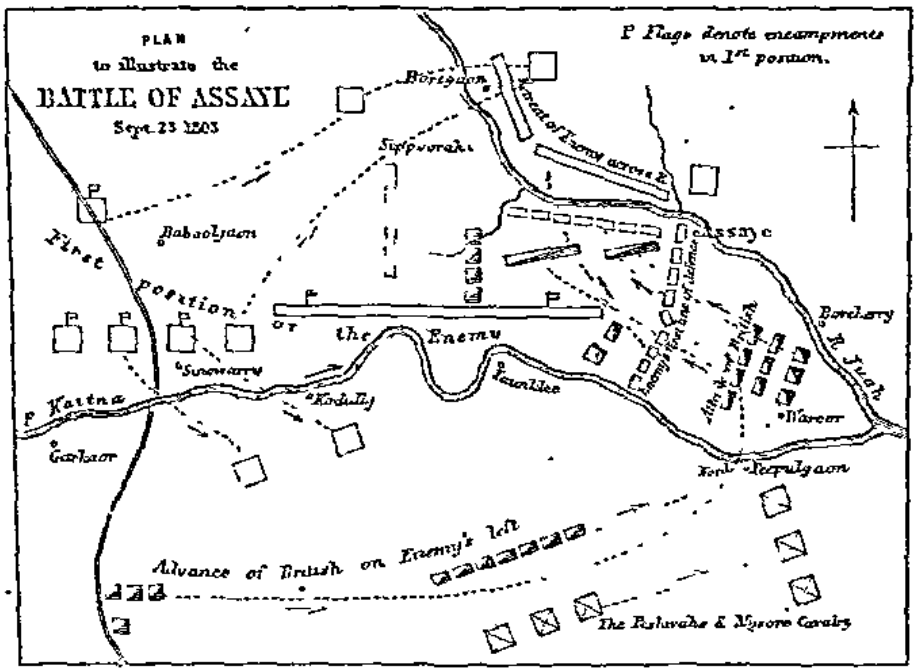
Preparations for battle

Victory of Assaye

The battle began with a cannonade on the British as they were moving to ford the Kailna. Previous to this movement the infantry and guns of the enemy were arranged along the north bank of the river; but as soon as it was discovered to be preparatory to an attack on the left, they changed their position, one line stretching from south to north, between the rivers, so as to face the British, and another at right angles to it, extending from Assaye westward along the south bank of the Juah. General Wellesley, as soon as his dispositions were completed, ordered his troops to advance under cover of his artillery, which opened on the enemy at the distance of 400 yards In this way, however, little progress could be made. Owing to the tremendous cannonade of the enemy, the British loss in men and bullocks was so great that their guns could not be moved forward They were therefore ordered to be left behind, and General Wellesley placing himself at the head of the line, advanced to close combat. When the Mahrattas saw the comparatively insignificant band marching steadily and intrepidly towards them, they stood astonished and appalled, as if uncertain whether to risk the encounter or save themselves by flight. Shame rather than courage seemed to detain them, till the order to charge with the bayonet was given Its effect was irresistible. The first line the moment bayonets were crossed gave way, and fell back closely pursued on the second line placed along the Juah During the struggle the pickets of the infantry and the 74th regiment posted on the right of the British first and second lines had been so much thinned by the artillery stationed near Assaye, that a body of Mahratta horse were emboldened to charge the regiment. They paid dearly for their presumption Their charge was instantly met by a counter-charge of the British cavalry under Colonel Maxwell, who drove them with great slaughter into the river. Meanwhile the bayonet continued to do

its work, and the enemy's second line gave way still easier than their first. The flight was now general, and the victory complete, though an incident occurred which, but for the cool intrepidity of the commander, might have converted it into a defeat. A.D 1803.

The cavalry having crossed to the north of the Juah, were following the fugitives with great slaughter along the banks, and the infantry were also in eager pursuit, when they suddenly heard a cannonade in their rear. The cause Battle of Assaye



was soon explained. A considerable number of Mahrattas had thrown themselves down among their guns, where they lay like heaps of dead. Believing them to be so, the British line passed them without notice, and were continuing the pursuit in disorder, when the fancied dead suddenly sprung up, and turned the cannon upon the pursuers. Before the mistake could be retrieved, some of the enemy's corps, who had been retreating in good order, faced about, while several bodies of their cavalry kept hovering at a short distance. The battle had in a manner to be fought over again, till General Wellesley put himself at the head of the 78th regiment and the 7th regiment of native cavalry, and charged the Mahrattas who had seized the guns. He succeeded, but only after a bloody contest, in which he had a horse shot under him, and was in the most imminent peril. Colonel Maxwell, though equally successful in charging the infantry of the enemy, who had halted and formed anew, was not personally so fortunate, for the charge cost him his life. A Mahratta stratagem

The battle lasted upwards of three hours, and was not gained without a heavy loss. The number of killed and wounded in the British army was 1566, rather more than a third of all the troops engaged; the enemy left 1200 dead on the field of battle, and the country covered with their wounded, though the

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small number of the victors, and the incident above mentioned, prevented them from reaping the full fruits of their success Their trophies were seven standards, the camp equipage, a number of bullocks and camels, a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, and ninety-eight pieces of ordnance. Colonel Stevenson having joined with his division on the evening of the 24th, was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, who had fled in the direction of the Adjunta Ghaut. On the 8th of October a letter was received from Balajee Khoonjur, now one of Scindia's, though formerly one of the peishwa's ministers. It was addressed to General Wellesley, and purported to be written by Scindia's authority. It requested that an envoy might be sent to his camp for the purpose of negotiating a peace. It was impossible to listen to such a proposal. The writer showed no proper authority, and his previous character makes it doubtful if he had received any. It seemed expedient, however, not to leave it unanswered, and therefore General Wellesley, while declining the overture in the form in which it had been made, declared his readiness to receive at the British camp, with every mark of distinction, any person duly authorized by the confederates to open a negotiation with a view to the termination of hostilities.

Results of the victory of Assaye

Scindia concludes a truce.

The confederates having collected the remains of their army, moved westward along the banks of the Taptee, apparently intending afterwards to turn south for Poonah. General Wellesley therefore remained to regulate his movements by theirs, and directed Colonel Stevenson to proceed north to Boorhanpoor It yielded to him without opposition on the 16th of October, and as the enemy on his approach retired towards the Nerbudda in complete disorganization, he determined to lay siege to the strong fortress of Aseerghur, situated about ten miles farther north. On the 18th he gained possession of the pettah, and effected a lodgment within 150 yards of the lower fort. A protracted defence might have been made, as the place, crowning an elevated summit of the Satpoora range between the valleys of the Taptee and the Nerbudda, was strong both by nature and art No sooner, however, had the batteries opened than the killedar agreed to the terms, or rather accepted the bribe which had been offered him, and delivered up the place, the garrison being not only permitted to depart with their private property, but receiving, moreover, 20,000 rupees as arrears of pay Aseerghur was the last place which Scindia possessed in the Deccan, and as his prospects were now gloomy in the extreme, he desired, or deemed it expedient to profess a desire for peace. He accordingly sent an ambassador to the British camp. General Wellesley, though aware that Scindia's real object was to gain time for recruiting his strength, received his ambassador with every demonstration of satisfaction, and after various conferences agreed on the 23d of November to a truce, of which the principal condition was, that Scindia should occupy a position forty miles east of Elichpoor, and that the British should not advance farther into his dominions. As

A.D. 1803. Colonel Woodington, marched on the 21st of August against Baroach, situated on the right bank of the Nerbudda, thirty miles above its mouth in the Gulf of Cambay. The pettah was gained on the 24th, a breaching battery of two eighteen pounders opened on the 26th, and a breach effected, which was pronounced practicable on the 29th. The assault, delayed till three o'clock in the afternoon for the co-operation of a gun-boat, which was, however, unable from the shallowness of the water to approach, was successful, after a vigorous resistance made chiefly by Arabs, who formed part of the garrison. The capture of the town was followed by the occupation of the whole district, the revenue of which was estimated at eleven lacs (£110,000). Colonel Woodington next reduced Champaneer, and then summoned the adjacent fortress of Powanghur. It consisted of a lower and an upper fort, occupying the sides

Operations in Gujerat.



Fort of Powanghur, Province of Gujerat — After a drawing by Major John Clift.

and summit of an immense rock, so lofty and precipitous as to be accessible only on the north side The killedar, after seeing a breach made in the lower fort, happily lost courage, and a place which might have held out for months was obtained by capitulation in the course of a few days The whole operations in Gujerat had been skilfully planned, and were executed with so much celerity and success, that before the end of September Scindia had not a foot of ground within the province.

In Orissa

In Orissa, on the opposite side of India, war was carried with equal success into the territories of the Rajah of Berar. Though the whole of Orissa was included in the grant of the dewannee obtained by Clive, the Company had been obliged to rest satisfied with only a portion of it The district of Cuttack was held by the Mahrattas, who, fully aware of its importance, refused to part with it Had the Company possessed it they would have had a continuous line of coast stretching from the mouths of the Ganges to Madras. The value of such a communication had been long recognized, and negotiations had been

repeatedly entered into for the purpose of acquiring it, either by exchange or purchase. The war into which the Rajah of Berar had rashly entered seemed to afford an opportunity of acquiring it by conquest, and it was accordingly determined to wrest it from him. With this view the governor-general, in fixing the localities which were to be made the seat of war, allotted an important detachment for Cuttack, which, when held by an enemy, not only enabled him to cut off the land communication with Madras, but brought him into dangerous proximity to Bengal. Indeed, during the first Mahratta war, the part assigned to the Rajah of Berar by his confederates was to ruin the Company's interest in their most valuable province, by leading an invading army direct to Calcutta. A.D. 1803

Operations in Cuttack

The force designed to operate in Cuttack consisted of 573 Europeans, and 2468 native infantry and cavalry, with some artillery, under Colonel Campbell Besides these, 500 Bengal volunteers under Captain Dick, and the same number under Captain Morgan, were embarked at Calcutta, the former to land at Ganjam, to support the main body which had previously assembled at that place, and the latter to seize the port of Balasore, which then belonged to the rajah. At Jellasore, situated on the north bank of the Subanreeka, which bounded the Company's and the rajah's territories on the north, as the small river at the mouth of which Ganjam stands bounded them on the south, was assembled under Colonel Ferguson another detachment of 750 sepoys, and 84 cavalry of the governor-general's body-guard; while at Midnapore, forty miles further north, a reserve of 800 sepoys and 500 native Bengal volunteers had been formed, for the double purpose of supporting the advanced corps, and checking any inroads of the rajah's predatory horse. On the 8th of September Colonel Campbell moved forward with the main body towards Cuttack, but a severe illness under which he was suffering obliged him to resign the command to Colonel Harcourt, the governor-general's military secretary. On arriving at Manickpatam, which was occupied without resistance, Colonel Harcourt despatched a letter to Brahmins of Juggernaut, recommending them to place their temple under British protection. They at once complied. The city of Juggernaut was occupied by the British troops on the 18th, and the British connection with Hindoo idolatry, afterwards so justly reprobated, began to be formed. The difficulties of the march were now greatly increased, both by the badness of the weather and considerable numbers of the enemy, who hovered on the British rear and flanks without venturing to come to close quarters. Still, Colonel Harcourt continued to make steady progress, and arrived in the beginning of October at the fort of Barabuttee, only a mile distant from the town of Cuttack. The fort, though possessed of considerable strength, was taken by storm on the 14th with little loss. Previous to this capture, important reinforcements had been made to the main body by the junction of the detachments under Colonel Ferguson and Captain Morgan. The latter had

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been completely successful at Balasore, which was gained with the loss of only one sepoy killed and three wounded. The capture of the fort of Barbuttee was immediately followed by the submission of the whole province of Cuttack, and Colonel Harcourt immediately prepared to proceed westward, through the defile of Bernath, into the other territories of the rajah, for the purpose of co-operating with General Wellesley.

Operations in Hindoostan proper

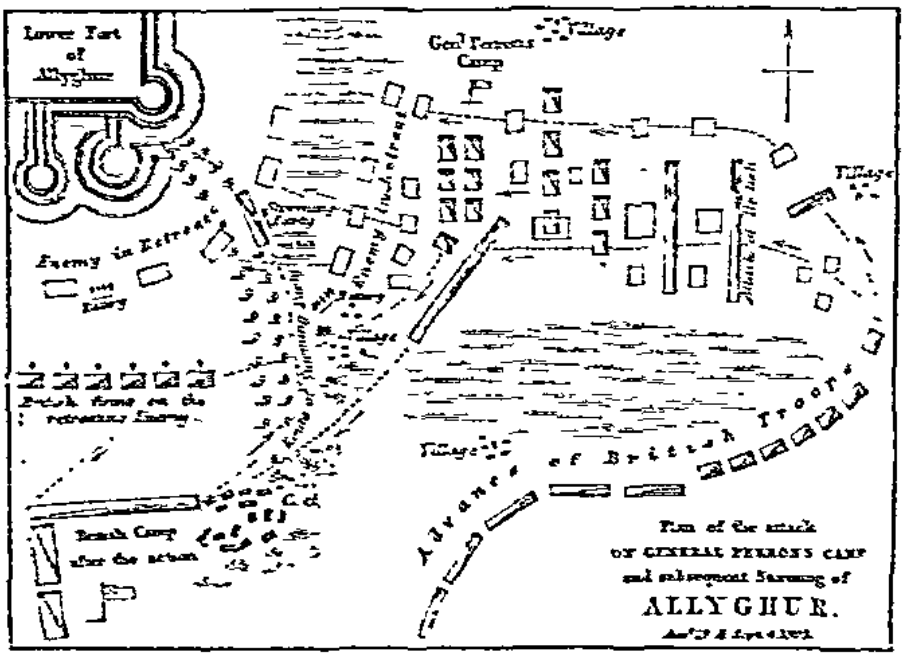
Hindoostan, though the account of the military operations carried on within it has been reserved for the last, was in some respects the most important seat of the war. The main army, under the personal command of General Lake, commander-in-chief, assembled in the Doab—the fertile province so called from lying between two rivers, the Jumna and the Ganges—and amounted to 10,500 men, exclusive of 3500 collected at Allahabad for the purpose of invading Bundelcund. The first object aimed at was the overthrow of the regularly disciplined brigades, commanded by Monsieur Perron, and which, though belonging nominally to Scindia, were to all intents independent, and entirely devoted to French interests. Instead of depending on periodical pay, they had obtained the assignment of a large tract of valuable territory in the very heart of the country for their maintenance, and as if they had been absolute sovereigns, not only ruled it with despotic sway, but were extending their influence on every side, by means of treaties offensive and defensive with the neighbouring chiefs. According to the statement of Mr. Stuart, a British officer, who quitted Scindia's service shortly after the commencement of hostilities, Perron's brigades mustered in all 43,650 men and 464 guns. The portion of this force with Scindia in the Deccan was estimated at 23,650 men, and consequently the remainder opposed to General Lake did not exceed 20,000. This, however, was exclusive of the troops employed in garrisons.

General Lake moves against Perron's French force

On the 7th of August, 1803, General Lake marched from Cawnpore the infantry on that station, commanded by General St. John, and the cavalry by Colonel St. Leger. On the 12th the whole army, which had moved northward along the right bank of the Ganges, encamped on the plains of Aroul, not far from Canouge. From this encampment the army quitting the river proceeded westward. Hostilities were not yet actually declared, but on the 26th, when at Secundra, General Lake received despatches from the governor-general, authorizing him to commence active operations against Scindia, Perron, and their allies, should intelligence of a pacific settlement not be in the meantime received from General Wellesley. On the 28th, the army, reinforced by the detachment from Futtehghur under General Ware, encamped on the Mahratta frontiers, within sight of the mosque of Coel, where Perron was seen strongly posted, not far from the fortress of Alighur. At four in the morning of the 29th, the army entered the Mahratta territory, and advanced to the attack of Perron, who immediately brought the whole of his horse, amounting to 20,000, of whom 4000 were regular cavalry, into the plain. The position was

trong. On the right was the fort of Alighur, in front a deep morass, and on he left difficult ground, and some villages affording good cover. The last being vidently the weakest point, General Lake selected it for his attack. In proortion, however, as the British advanced the enemy receded, and finally bandoned the field without hazarding a general action. M. Perron retired owards Agra, leaving the command of Alighur to M. Pedron, with instructions o defend it to the last extremity. A.D. 1803

General Lake having taken possession of Coel, and encamped on its north ide, summoned M. Pedron to surrender the fort. The answer was, in terms of Alghur taken by assault.



his instructions, that he was determined to defend it. As delay would only have rendered the capture more difficult, it was resolved to lose no time in making the assault. The morning of the 4th of September was fixed upon, and the attack was to be led by the Honourable Colonel Monson. On the previous night two covering batteries, each of four eighteen-pounders, were erected to protect the approach of the storming party, which left the camp at three in the morning, and by making a circuit, arrived within 4000 yards of the gateway, without being discovered. Having halted here till the signal was given, they moved on under cover of a heavy fire from the batteries, till they were within 100 yards of the gate. A traverse recently erected in front of it was mounted with three guns, but the enemy were dislodged before they had time to fire them, and Colonel Monson pushed forward with the two flank companies of the 76th regiment, in the hope of being able to enter the fort with the defenders of the traverse. On arriving, he found the first gate shut, while the entrance was raked by guns, which kept up a destructive fire of grape. Two ladders were instantly applied, but a formidable row of pikemen made it

A D 1803.

impossible to mount. An attempt to force the gate, first by a six and then by a twelve pounder, did not succeed, till after a delay of twenty minutes, during which the storming party stood exposed to a severe fire of grape and musketry. During this delay the enemy actually crowded the scaling ladders, and came down by them to engage their assailants hand to hand. It was at this time that Colonel Monson was wounded by a pike and the British sustained their heaviest loss. As soon as the first gate was forced the storming party advanced along a narrow circular road, defended by a round tower, loopholed for musketry, which plied incessantly, while showers of grape were poured down from a neighbouring bastion. Happily, the second gate was easily forced, and a third was gained before the enemy, now becoming confused, had time to close it. A fourth gate threatened to be a fatal obstacle. The twelve-pounder, after some delay in bringing it forward, failed to force it. At length an entrance having been gained by the wicket, the whole party rushed forward, and having gained the ramparts soon rendered further resistance vain. In the course of an hour they had made themselves masters of a fortress long deemed impregnable. The total British loss in killed and wounded was 223; that of the garrison in killed alone, not so much by the sword of the assailants as by desperate attempts to escape, exceeded 2000. M. Pedron, the commandant, was among the prisoners.

Capture of Alighur

Importance of the acquisition

The fortress was a most valuable acquisition, not merely on its own account, but from the quantity of military stores which it contained, the French having made it their chief depôt in the Doab. This selection was certainly justified by the natural and artificial strength of the place. Its site on an elevated plain surrounded by swamps, made it perfectly inaccessible in the rainy season, and everything which the skill of French engineers could devise had been employed to add to its natural strength. One serious mistake they had made, in allowing the entrance by a causeway to remain Had they joined the two sides of the ditch, by cutting it across, and substituting a drawbridge, it never could have been carried by an assault, without regular approaches. The number of guns found in the fort was 281.

Perron resigns Scindia's service

After securing Alighur, and by the substitution of a drawbridge making the improvement which the French so fatally for themselves had omitted, the army set out on the 7th of September for Delhi. On the same day General Lake received a letter from M. Perron, stating that he had quitted the service of Scindia, and requesting permission to proceed with his family and property to Lucknow, under the escort either of a British or of his own body-guard. Both escorts were at once granted him, and he ultimately settled in the neighbourhood of Chandernagore. Whatever the motive of his resignation may have been, it did good service to the British, from its being generally believed that he had despaired of Scindia's success. The capture of Alighur had made so strong an impression, that several places which might have made a good defence were abandoned as the army approached them. Intelligence, however,

as received which made it almost certain, that it would not be permitted to A.D. 1803.
ach Delhi without a struggle. Sixteen battalions of regular infantry, 6000
valry, and a large train of artillery, under M. Bourquieu, were said to have
ossed the Jumna for the purpose of giving battle. The intelligence proved
rrect. On reaching the place of encampment, near the Johna Nullah, about
x miles from Delhi, the tents were scarcely pitched when the enemy appeared
front in great force. On reconnoitring, General Lake found their whole
rce strongly posted on a rising ground in order of battle. Each flank was
vered by a swamp, and while the cavalry were stationed beyond it, the front
as defended by a line of entrenchments and numerous artillery.

General Lake, on reconnoitring, had taken with him the whole cavalry, con- Victory of Delhi
isting of three regiments. On making himself sufficiently acquainted with
he numbers and position of the enemy, and perceiving that they could only
e attacked in front, he sent instant orders for the infantry and artillery to
oin the cavalry. As the latter were two miles in advance of the camp, an
our was lost before this junction was effected, and in the meantime the enemy
ept up a cannonade which caused a considerable loss in men and horses. The
eneral himself had a horse shot under him, as had also his son, Major Lake,
t a later period. After a time it seemed doubtful if success could be obtained
while the enemy kept their position, and an attempt was therefore made to
lraw them from their entrenchments by means of a feint. The cavalry accord-
ngly were ordered to retire, with the double object of alluring the enemy into
he plain, and covering the advance of the infantry. The manœuvre succeeded.
The enemy, convinced that the withdrawal of the cavalry was the commence-
ment of a retreat, rushed forward, shouting as if they had gained the victory
Meanwhile, the British infantry having come up, the cavalry opened in the
centre and allowed them to advance to the front. Great was the surprise and
consternation when the enemy, instead of finding the confusion of a retreat
saw themselves face to face with a firm and impenetrable line of infantry
The order to advance was immediately given, General Lake himself leading in
person, at the head of the 76th regiment, in the face of a tremendous fire of
round grape and chain shot. On arriving within a hundred paces, the whole
line fired a volley, and then rushed on with the bayonet. The result was not Its results
for a moment doubtful. The enemy, as if a general panic had seized them, fled
with precipitancy in all directions. The cavalry and galloper-guns, taking up
the pursuit, followed the fugitives to the banks of the Jumna, in which prodi-
gious numbers of them perished. The loss of the British in killed and
wounded was 400; that of the enemy was roughly estimated at 3000. The
immediate trophies of the victory were sixty-eight pieces of cannon, two
tumbrils laden with treasure and thirty-seven laden with ammunition, besides
twenty-four which were blown up. The battle, which was fought within sight
of the towers of Delhi and takes its name from it, was followed by the evacu-

A D 1803. tion of this celebrated capital of the Moguls by the enemy, and the undisputed occupation of it by the British forces.

Interview of General Lake with Shah Alum

Some time previous to the battle a secret communication had been opened with Shah Alum, assuring him, if he could place himself under the protection of the British government, "that every demonstration of respect and attention would be paid towards his majesty on the part of that government, and that an adequate provision would be made for the support of his majesty, and of his family and household." He returned an answer expressive of a wish to avail himself of this offer, and accordingly, when the army crossed the Jumna on the 14th of September and proceeded to take possession of the city, they were hailed as deliverers. The interview of General Lake with Shah Alum took place on the 16th, and must have seemed to the governor-general very important, since he has condescended in one of his despatches to describe it circumstantially. The Prince Mirza Akbar Shah, the heir-apparent, was deputed to conduct the commander-in-chief to the royal presence. He was to have arrived at twelve o'clock, but oriental etiquette made him late, and he did not arrive till half-past three. The governor-general's description thus continues:—"By the time his royal highness had been received, remounted on his elephant, and the whole cavalcade formed, it was half-past four o'clock. The distance being five miles, the commander-in-chief did not reach the palace of Delhi until sunset. The crowd in the city was extraordinary; and it was with some difficulty that the cavalcade could make its way to the palace. The courts of the palace were full of people, anxious to witness the deliverance of their sovereign from a state of degradation and bondage. At length the commander-in-chief was ushered into the royal presence, and found the unfortunate venerable emperor, oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, extreme poverty, and loss of sight, seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition." From the sympathy here expressed, and his afterwards talking of the capture of Delhi as "delivering the unfortunate and aged emperor Shah Alum, and the royal house of Timour, from misery, degradation, and bondage," one is almost prepared to expect that the governor-general was to re-establish the Mogul empire, or at least to give back to Shah Alum all that the Company themselves had wrested from him since the grant of the dewannee—the reserved revenue of £250,000 sterling, which they had ceased to pay him on some flimsy pretext, but in reality because they found payment inconvenient—and the two provinces of Allahabad and Corah, which, while holding them nominally as his trustees, they sold for their own behoof to the Nabob of Oude. Nothing of the kind was intended; it would have been bad policy; it was totally inconsistent with the governor-general's schemes; and hence all his pompous language was only a prelude to his final instruction, that such "regard should be paid to the comfort and convenience of his majesty and the royal family as was consistent with the

Arrangements.

due security of their persons." Shah Alum appears to have repaid his benefactors in their own coin. "In addition to other marks of royal condescension and favour," says the governor-general, "the emperor was graciously pleased to confer on General Lake the second title in the empire, *Sumsam-u-Dowlah, Ashgar-ul-Moolk, Khan Dowran Khan, General Gerald Lake Behauder, Futteh Jung*—'the Sword of the State, the Hero of the Land, the Lord of the Age, and the Victorious in War.'" Merely to show that the governor-general was not permitted to monopolize the pompous verbiage used on this occasion, we quote the following observation on it by Major Thorn:[1]—"In whatever light distinctions of this nature may appear to those who consider the blaze of power alone as the highest legitimate source of glory, without any regard to the means by which it is acquired or the consequences produced, the mind of nobler sentiments and more delicate feeling will estimate them according to the merits by which they have been earned, and the spirit from whence they flow. Though these lofty titles were conferred upon the British general by a sovereign destitute of wealth, and shorn of the beams of regal majesty, the importance of the service and the gratitude of an enfranchised people gave a splendour to the grant equal, if not superior, to the glittering rewards of renown." At the time when Shah Alum performed his part in this empty ceremony he was eighty-three years of age. He lived other three years, and at his death in 1806 was succeeded by the above prince, Mirza Akbar Shah, "who," says Thorn, "ascended the throne without molestation, a circumstance unparalleled in the history of Hindoostan." He could not add, what will afterwards be seen, that he was destined to be the last who sat upon it, and to end his days on a savage island as a just punishment for atrocious crimes.

A.D. 1803.

Interview between Colonel Lake and Shah Alum

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony in charge of Delhi, General Lake, on the 24th of September, 1803, commenced his march southward along the right bank of the Jumna. His object was Agra, which was in the hands of Scindia's adherents. He arrived before it on the 4th of October, and by the 7th had cut off its communications with the surrounding country. On the 9th he concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, who immediately sent him a reinforcement of 5000 cavalry. The garrison of Agra had previous to the war been commanded by British officers, who since its commencement were so much suspected by the troops that they had placed them in confinement. So great was the confusion which prevailed in consequence of this proceeding, that when General Lake summoned the place on his arrival no answer could be returned. It was determined, however, to make a vigorous defence. Seven battalions of Scindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, and were in possession of the town and the ravines surrounding the south and south-west faces of the fort. Though Thorn makes no mention of the circumstance, Duff says that they were thus encamped without the fort because

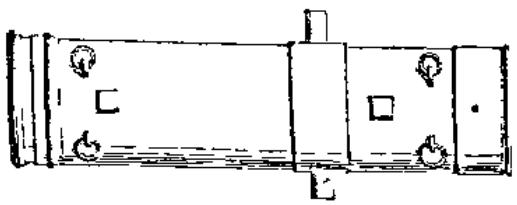
General Lake moves on Agra.

[1] *Memoir of the War in India* p. 126, 127.

A D 1803

"the garrison were afraid to admit them, lest they should plunder a rich treasury which they wished to reserve to themselves." It was necessary to dislodge these troops before approaches could be made. They were accordingly attacked on the morning of the 10th, and, after a severe struggle, completely defeated, the town, twenty-six fine brass guns, and as many tumbrils laden with ammunition, remaining in possession of the victors. Two days afterwards the remainder of the battalions outside the fort, amounting to 2500 men, surrendered. The siege was immediately commenced, and made rapid progress. A grand battery of eight eighteen-pounders opened on the 17th, and with such effect on the south-east bastion that a practicable breach would soon have been effected. The garrison, who had previously employed their British officers to make terms for them which they did not keep, were now in earnest in offering to capitulate on the morning of the 18th. The terms allowed them to depart with their clothes. Their number amounted to about 6000. Within the fort were found tumbrils laden with treasure to the amount of twenty-two lacs (£222,000), together with 164 pieces of ordnance, 76 of them brass, and large quantities of ammunition and stores. "Among the ordnance," says Thorn, "was one enormous brass gun, which, for magnitude and beauty stands unrivalled. Its length was 14 feet 2 inches, its calibre 23 inches, the weight of its ball when of cast iron 1500 lbs., and its whole weight 96,000 lbs., or a little above 38 tons." Though called brass, it was, according to common report, composed of a mixture of the precious metals. The *shroffs* seem to have been of this opinion, for they offered £12,000 for it, merely to melt it down. General Lake meant to transport it to Calcutta and thence to England, but it proved too heavy for the raft on which it was placed, and sunk in the river. The whole of the twenty-two lacs of treasure was modestly claimed by M. Perron, on the ground that it was his private property, and was guaranteed to him by the terms of his surrender, by which his private property was reserved. The claim, though scarcely entitled to notice, was examined and found groundless, and the whole amount was shared by the captors.

Capture of Agra



Great Gun at Agra
From Fairclarence's Journey from India to England

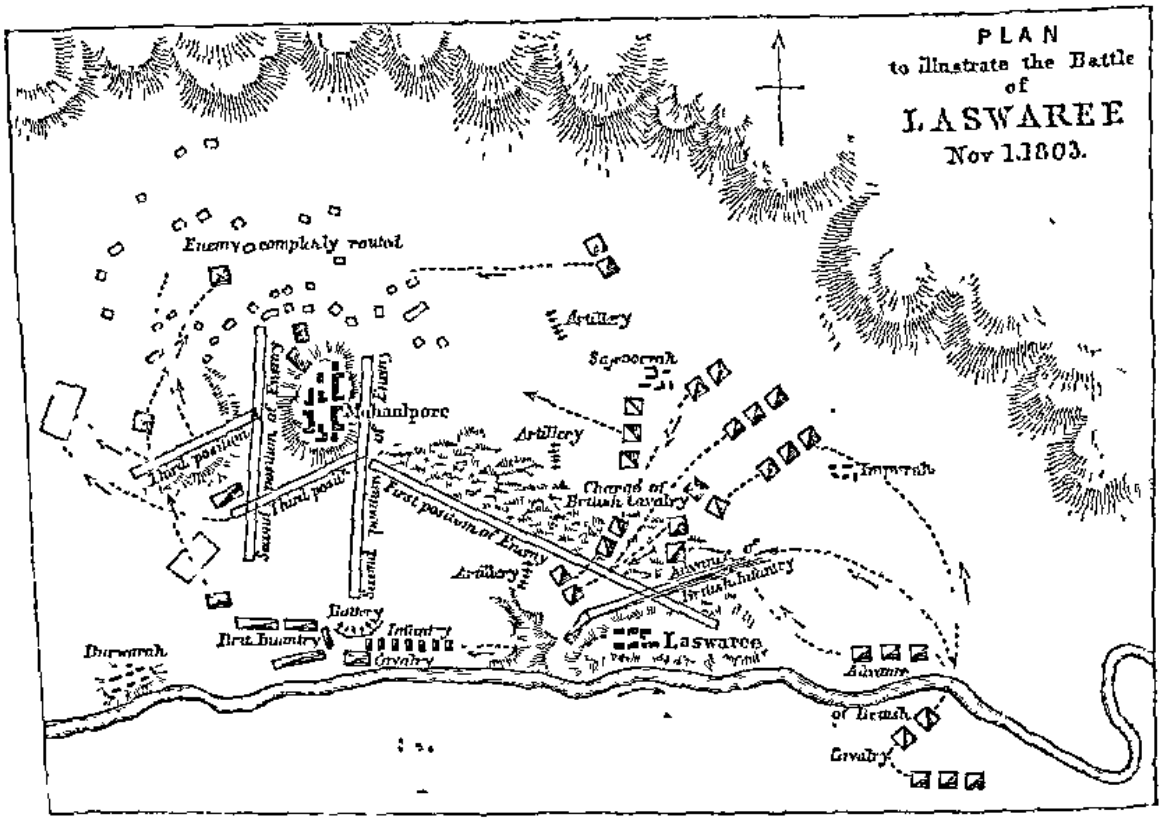
Pursuit of the enemy

At an early stage of the campaign Scindia had detached seven regular battalions from the Deccan, under the command of a French officer of the name of Dudernaigue or Dudrenec. These had been joined by three of Bourquien's battalions, who had not been engaged at Delhi, and by the other battalions formed of the fugitives from Delhi and Agra, the whole amounting to about 9000 infantry, accompanied by a body of about 1500 good cavalry and a superior equipment of artillery. Dudernaigue had given up the command and surrendered to the British, and the force was now commanded by a Mahratta

A D 1803.

Battle of Laswaree

right angles to the enemy's position. The object of this attack was to turn their right flank. For some time, owing to the high grass which intervened, they did not perceive it, but the moment it became known they frustrated it by throwing back their left wing, and covering the movement by a destructive cannonade, which greatly thinned the 76th regiment, while the nature of the



ground impeded its advance. General Lake, perceiving this state of matters, determined to hasten the attack, and, placing himself at the head of the regiment and a battalion and five companies of sepoys which had closed in front, moved rapidly forward On arriving within reach of canister shot, it was so showered upon them that a regular advance was impossible, and the Mahratta horse ventured to charge. After gallantly repulsing them, General Lake ordered the British cavalry to charge in turn This service was performed by the 29th dragoons, who dashed through both lines of the enemy's infantry, wheeled round upon their cavalry, driving them from the field, and then attacked the rear of their second line. The enemy's first line had in the meantime been driven back by the British infantry upon the second Both lines were thus mingled together, and attacked at once in front and rear On this occasion Scindia's veteran brigades proved themselves worthy of their high reputation. Disdaining to yield, they continued an unequal fight with desperate valour; and, with the exception of about 2000 who were broken and made prisoners, perished where they stood with their arms in their hands. The British loss amounted to about 800; but the victory, though dearly purchased, was most complete. Except

Results of the victory

the 2000 prisoners, the whole of the enemy's battalions, to the amount of at least 7000 men, lay dead on the field. Most of their cavalry shared the same fate. The trophies of victory included the whole of the enemy's bazaars, with the camp equipage and baggage, a considerable number of elephants and camels, above 1600 bullocks, 72 pieces of cannon, 5000 stand of arms, 44 stand of colours, 3 tumbrils laden with treasure, 64 tumbrils laden with ammunition, and 57 carts containing stores of various descriptions. The effect of the victory was to give the British undisputed possession of all Scindia's territories north of the Chumbul. A.D. 1803. Victory of Laswaree.

On the 8th of November the army quitted Laswaree, where the air had become tainted by the number of the dead, and began to retrace its steps by proceeding eastward in the direction of Agra. On the 14th the sick and wounded with the captured guns were sent off to that city, but the army halted at Paiashur. During a fortnight spent here the effect of the recent successes was manifested by the number of rajahs who hastened to court the British alliance. Defensive treaties were formed with the Rajah of Macherry, called the Ram Rajah, the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Jodpoor, and the Begum Sumroo. The last was rather a singular connection, as she was the widow of the villain by whose hands mainly the massacre of Patna was perpetrated. Vakeels or ambassadors also arrived from different quarters, among others one from Delhi, bearing a *Khelat* or dress of honour from Shah Alum to General Lake, and congratulations on his recent victory. "Desirous," says Thorn, "of receiving this high mark of distinction in a manner that should at the same time make a general impression in favour of the British arms and show respect for the emperor," General Lake made the ambassador's reception as pompous as possible, and returned public acknowledgments, testifying his high sense of the honour which the emperor had conferred upon him. "This," adds Thorn, "highly pleased and gratified the ambassador and all the Mussulmans who beheld the ceremony." The army again moved on the 27th November, and finally turning southward took up a position at Biana. Defensive treaties with native rajahs.

One of the great objects originally contemplated by the war was the conquest of Bundelcund, a province so called from its being in possession of the Bundela race. It consisted of a level and a mountainous country, the former lying on the north-east along the right bank of the Jumna, and the latter stretching backward from it through rugged and elevated tracts connected with the Vindhya Mountains. This country belonging nominally to the peishwa, a new agreement was made with him in August 1803, by which he ceded the greater part of his claims in it to the Company, in lieu of Savanore and Benkapoor in the southern Mahratta country, and Oolpar in the neighbourhood of Surat. The districts which he thus received yielded little more than nineteen, while those which he ceded were estimated at upwards of thirty-six lacs; but still the exchange was not unequal, because he received districts of which the revenue Proceedings in Bundelcund.

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was sure, whereas those which he gave up were in such a position that the first thing which the Company had to do was to fight for them. The arrangement included various other stipulations affecting the relative positions of the parties, and were therefore afterwards drawn up in regular articles, which were signed on the 16th of December, 1803, and termed supplemental articles to the treaty of Bassein.

Rebellion of the Bundela chiefs.

After ceding Bundelcund, or rather the rights which he either possessed or claimed in it, the peishwa sent orders to his officers in the province enjoining them to surrender the territories under their charge to the British government. Shâmsheer Bahadur, who claimed by descent from Bajee Row, the first peishwa, and by grant made to his ancestor, questioned the validity of the cession, and prepared to resist it. The governor-general, on the contrary, was determined to enforce it, and thus war became inevitable. On the 6th of September, 1803, Colonel Powell, at the head of a detachment, which had been assembled at Allahabad, crossed the Jumna, and entered Bundelcund Hemmat Bahadur, another Bundela chief, who was at once a *gosain* or religous character, and a soldier of fortune, had previously given in his adhesion to the British government, and on the 14th of September joined Colonel Powell with 8000 irregular infantry, 4000 horse, three regular battalions, commanded by an European officer, and twenty-five guns. On the 23d of September, when they reached the Cane, which flows past the fort of Callinger, and joins the Jumna a little below Corah, they found Shamsheer Bahadur strongly posted on the opposite bank. After reducing several places in the vicinity, the united forces crossed on the 10th of October, and after a fatiguing march of six hours over a rugged country, saw Shamsheer's army drawn up in order of battle. Though he presented a bold front he fled at the first onset, and by his superior speed escaped with very little loss. All his courage, however, appeared to be gone, and he professed a strong desire for peace. He could not have been sincere, as he managed to spin out the negotiation for two months, and at last broke it off at the very time he had fixed for his arrival in the British camp



Gosains
From Broughton's Letters from a Mahratta Camp

Hostilities were of course immediately renewed, and Colonel Powell resumed offensive operations by laying siege to Calpee, which capitulated on the 4th of December. The capture of this place, and the defection of his chief officers, at last convinced Shamsheer that he had nothing to hope from continuing the war, and

he threw himself on the mercy of the British, who treated him with a generosity which he could scarcely have anticipated. Several other chiefs, some of them adherents of Shamsheer, and others independent of him, now gave in their adherence. Of the latter, the two most important were the ruler of Jhansi, and the Mahratta chief Ambajee Inglia, who had acted as Scindia's minister, and held under him possession of extensive territories, including those of the Rana of Gohud. With the ruler of Jhansi, who really had pacific intentions, a treaty was immediately concluded; with Ambajee Inglia matters were not so easily settled.

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Subjugation of the Bundela chiefs.

Ambajee, in the month of October, 1803, offered to renounce his dependence on Scindia and become tributary to the British on certain conditions. After some time spent in negotiation, a treaty was concluded with him on the 16th December, 1803, by which he resigned the fortress of Gwalior and all the lands in his possession to the north of it to the Company, and was recognized as independent sovereign of all the other territories in his possession, except those of the Rana of Gohud, to whom they had, by a previous treaty, been guaranteed. In accordance with this treaty, General Lake, on the 21st of December, despatched a corps under Colonel White to take possession of Gwalior. On arriving before it, Colonel White delivered the orders of Ambajee, but the commandant refused to give up possession. Circumstances afterwards transpired to prove that the commandant's apparent contumacy originated with, or was at least countenanced by Ambajee himself, and it was therefore resolved to enforce compliance without delay. A considerable reinforcement, with siege artillery, was immediately sent off to Colonel White, who was also empowered to call in additional aid from the troops serving in Bundelcund. Batteries were accordingly erected, and having opened a fire which soon effected a breach, so intimidated the garrison that they capitulated. In order to complete the account of the operations in Hindoostan, including the conquest of Bundelcund and the capture of Gwalior, it has been necessary for a time to lose sight of the important transactions which were in the meantime taking place in the Deccan To these we will now return.

Treaty with Ambajee Inglia.

The virtual dissolution of the confederacy between Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla took place on the 23d of November 1803, when General Wellesley concluded a truce with the former, and excluded the latter from any participation in it. By the terms of the truce, Scindia was bound to remove his troops to the eastward of Elichpoor, but ocular evidence was given that he had not fulfilled them, for on the 28th of November a large body of his cavalry was seen united with that of Ragojee Bhonsla, and accompanied by the greater part of the regular infantry, and a large portion of the artillery belonging to the latter General Wellesley, holding this to be equivalent to a violation of the truce, resolved to attack them, notwithstanding the remonstrances and protestations of Scindia's ambassador, who had not yet left the British camp He accordingly set

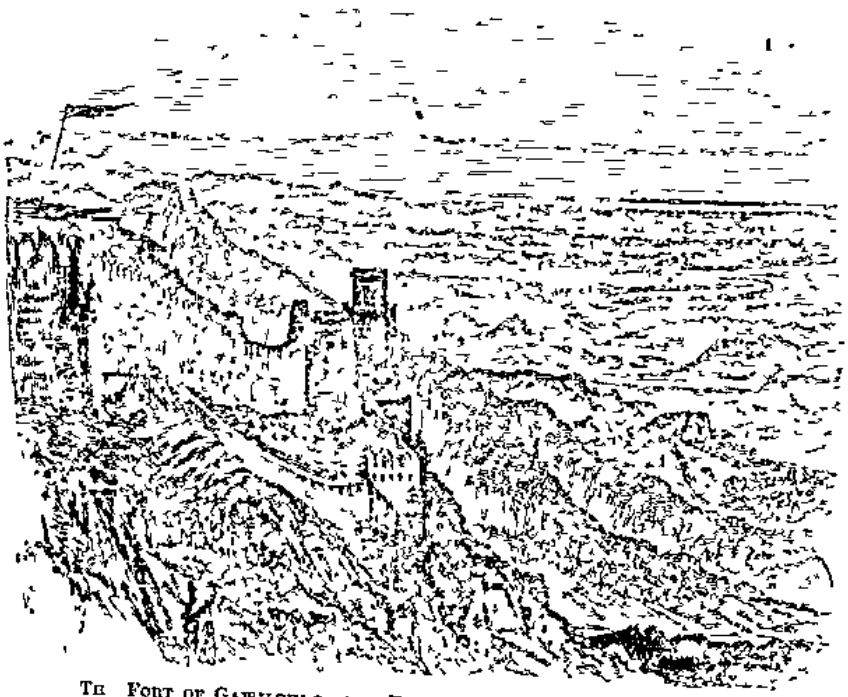
Mahratta war renewed

A D 1803

out at once, and after a long and fatiguing march, overtook them in the vicinity of Argaon, a village about thirty-five miles W.S.W. of Elichpoor. They had drawn up as if prepared for battle, and were commanded by Scindia in person, and by Munnoo Bappoo, the Rajah of Berar's brother. In their rear stood the village with the gardens and inclosures of Argaon, and in front its plains much cut by watercourses. The main resistance was made by a body of Persian troops, who attacked the 74th and 78th regiments, and maintained a desperate struggle till they were almost totally destroyed. The rest of the enemy speedily gave way, and though evening had come on, were pursued in the moonlight with great slaughter by the cavalry, who captured all their elephants and baggage The British loss in killed and wounded was 346.

Battle of Argaon

It was determined to follow up this victory by the siege of Gawilghur, a



The Fort of Gawilghur—the Tower over the Peer Futteh Gate.
From original drawing, Library East India House

fortress belonging to the rajah, and situated about fifteen miles north-west of Elichpoor, on a lofty precipice of a mountain ridge stretching between the sources of the Taptee and the Poornah. It consisted of an outer and an inner fort, both strongly built, inclosed by ramparts flanked with towers, and entered by three gates, one to the south leading to the inner fort, one to the north leading to the outer fort, and the third merely communicating with an interior wall The ascent to the south gate is very steep and difficult; the road to the north gate was the one in common use, but was extremely narrow, and from passing round the west side of the fort was everywhere exposed to its fire Notwithstanding these disadvantages the attack by this road seemed preferable to every other, and was adopted. Colonel Stevenson, who had equipped his

Capture of Gawilghur

A.D. 1931. Row Scindia ceded all his territories in the Doab, and all those northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor, Jodpoor, and Gohud, the forts of Ahmednuggur and Baroach, with these districts, and his possessions between the Adjunta Ghaut and the Godavery. He also renounced all claims on the Mogul, and on the Company, or its allies the peishwa, the Nizam, and the Guicowar. Both chiefs engaged not to entertain within their territories any European or American of a nation hostile to the British, or any British subject without the consent of the British government, and to send and receive accredited ministers to reside at the respective courts of the contracting parties. By a special article in Scindia's treaty a defensive alliance was contemplated, and it was provided that in the event of a subsidiary force being furnished to him, the expense should be defrayed from the territories which he had ceded. Effect was given to this article by a treaty concluded on the 27th of February, 1804, by which a corps of six battalions of sepoys were to be furnished, and stationed at Scindia's option, either within his territories or at a convenient frontier fort within those of the Company. By another article of the Surjee Anjengaom treaty, pensions to the aggregate amount of fifteen lacs were granted by the Company to the principal of Scindia's officers, who suffered loss by his cessions of territory in Hindoostan.

Cessions by Scindia and the Rajah of Berar

Important results of the war.

The results anticipated from the conclusion of these treaties, and the glorious termination of the war, were thus glowingly described by the governor-general in answer to a congratulatory address from the inhabitants of Calcutta:—"The foundations of our empire in Asia are now laid in the tranquillity of surrounding nations, and in the happiness and welfare of the people of India. In addition to the augmentation of our territories and resources, the peace manifested exemplary faith and equity towards our allies, moderation and lenity towards our enemies, and a sincere desire to promote the general prosperity of this quarter of the globe. The position in which we are now placed is such as suits the character of the British nation, the principles of our laws, the spirit of our constitution, and that liberal policy which becomes the dignity of a great and powerful empire. My public duty is discharged to the satisfaction of my conscience by the prosperous establishment of a system of policy which promises to improve the general condition of the people of India, and to unite the principal native states in the bond of peace, under the protection of the British power." These views were so far shared at home that the thanks of parliament were voted to the governor-general, and to the several armies which shared the glory of the contest. General Lake was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree, and General Wellesley received the riband of the military order of the Bath The courts of directors and of proprietors, though known to be not at all friendly to the policy of Marquis Wellesley, yielded to the general current, and gave him a vote of thanks, as well generally for the discharge of his public duty as specially for the success of the military operations

CHAPTER VIII.

War with Holkar—Ameer Khan in Bundelcund—Disastrous retreat and discomfiture of Colonel Monson—Holkar invades Hindoostan—His siege of Delhi—His depredations in the Doab—Battle of Deeg—Rout at Furruckabad—Storming of Deeg—Siege of Bhurtpoor—The failure of four assaults—Disputes with Scindia.

FOLLOWING as were the governor-general's descriptions of the results of the peace, and his predictions of its permanency, there was at this very time one quarter from which disturbance must have been foreboded. Holkar had been violently expelled from Poonah, and as yet no amicable arrangement had been made with him. Any steps he had subsequently taken were hostile. He had promised to join the confederates, and with this view had made a peace with Scindia, which promised him large accessions of territory. After hostilities commenced, he waited with the usual Mahratta cunning to ascertain the probable result before committing himself. At first he is believed not to have been dissatisfied with the reverses which the confederates sustained, because by their weakness he hoped to make himself more powerful; but when he saw them threatened with annihilation his views underwent a change, and he would probably have cast in his lot with them had he not been anticipated by the rapid course of events. Before the treaties of peace were concluded, he had advanced towards Hindoostan, and kept hovering on the frontiers of the Rajah of Jeypoor, now a British ally, in a manner so suspicious that the governor-general instructed Lord Lake to enter into communication with him. His lordship accordingly, on the 29th of January, 1804, addressed a letter to him, stating the terms on which the British government were willing to leave him in the unmolested exercise of his authority, but requiring as a pledge of friendly intentions that he should withdraw into his own territory, and cease from exacting tribute from British allies.

A.D. 1804

Views of Holkar

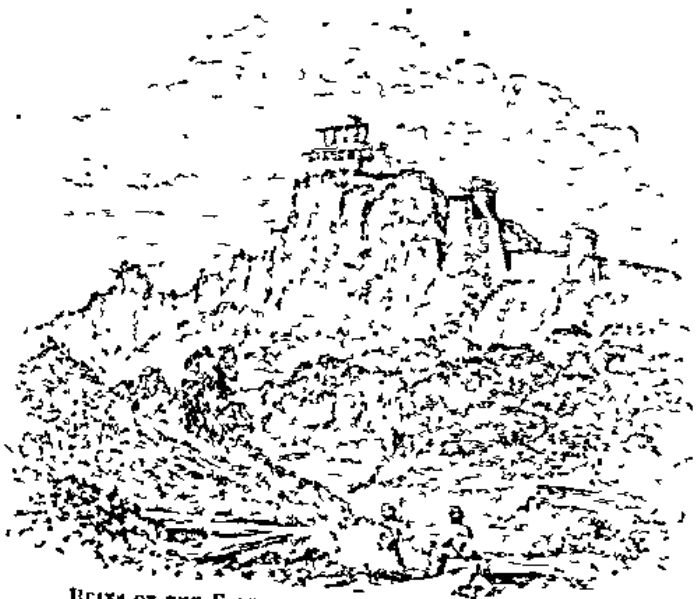
After some delay Holkar sent vakeels to Lord Lake with the following proposals—1. That he should be permitted to collect the chout agreeably to the customs of his ancestors. 2. That the ancient possessions formerly held by his family (twelve of the finest districts in the Doab, and a district in Bundelcund) should be restored to him. 3. That the country of Hurreanah, formerly in possession of the Holkar family, should be ceded to him. 4 That this country should be guaranteed to him, and a treaty concluded with him similar to that with Scindia. These proposals were at once rejected as extravagant, and Holkar's real designs were manifested by attempts to shake the fidelity of the Company's tributaries and dependants. He had also, while

His arrogant proposals.

A D 1804

communicating with Lord Lake, addressed a letter to Sir Arthur Wellesley, in which he demanded the cession of several districts in the Deccan, as originally belonging to the Holkar family, and concluded thus: "Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered. Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." Not satisfied with these insulting menaces, Holkar openly solicited the aid of Scindia in a meditated attack on the British territories, and commenced plundering those of the Rajah of Jeypoor. War was thus virtually declared, and Holkar was the aggressor.

Arrogant proposals of Holkar



Ruins of the Fortress of Biana.—From Todd's Rajhistan

Lord Lake having resolved, in consequence of Holkar's proceedings, to make a forward movement, sent the heavy part of artillery back to Agra, and marched from his encampment at Biana on the 9th February, 1804, proceeding south-west in the direction of Hindown, which was reached on the 20th. While here, occupying a position which covered the principal roads into the Company's territories, Lord Lake received a letter from Holkar, written in the most friendly spirit, and observing that "while the flame of contention can be extinguished by the water of reconciliation, it is unfit to bring matters to the extremity of war" So sincere was he in his friendship, that even before Lord Lake's letter reached him he had intended, he said, to march homewards. Though aware how hollow these professions were, his lordship answered him in his own oriental style, telling him how glad he was that the purity of his mind was unsullied by the dust of enmity or revenge. At the same time he candidly told him that he was aware of his correspondence with some discontented chiefs, and would resent any aggression on the territories of an ally. Leaving Hindown on the 8th of March, Lord Lake turned north-west to Ramghur, and was there waited upon by Holkar's vakeels, who delivered a letter from their master, in which he expressed himself as follows: "Friendship requires that, keeping in your view the long existing unanimity between me and the English Company, you act according to what my vakeels shall represent to you, and your doing so shall be fruitful of benefit and advantage; if not, my country and property are upon the saddle of my horse; and, please God to whatever side the reins of the horses of my brave warriors can be

Hindu duplicity and vain boasting

A D 1804

him on the one side, while Colonel Murray from Gujerat was moving against him on the other. These two detachments being considered sufficient to keep Holkar in check, Lord Lake determined to march back to Agra, as the troops were suffering dreadfully from the hot winds, and the fields were so burned up that the cattle were perishing from want of forage. On arriving at the old encampment at Hindown on the 28th of May, the disagreeable intelligence was received that a party of British troops had been cut up in Bundelcund. Colonel Fawcett, who had succeeded to the command there in consequence of the death of Colonel Powell, had detached seven companies of sepoys to take a small fort about five miles distant from his position at Koonch. The killedar, on being summoned, offered to surrender next morning if the firing ceased These terms being agreed to, the killedar employed the interval in sending notice to Ameer Khan, then in the neighbourhood with a large body of horse. About 7000 of them were immediately despatched, and falling unexpectedly on two companies of sepoys and about fifty artillerymen in the trenches, slew every man of them, officers and privates, and then carried off all the artillery, consisting of three guns, two howitzers, and the tumbrils belonging to them. The other five companies succeeded with difficulty in making their escape.

War with Holkar

A disastrous march.

Lord Lake continued his march under very distressing circumstances, multitudes perishing under the burning winds "Young men," says Thorn, "who set out in the morning full of spirits, and in all the vigour of health, dropped dead immediately on reaching the encampment ground, and many were smitten on the road by the overpowering force of the sun, especially when at the meridian, the rays darting downwards like a torrent of fire." The misery produced by the heat was much increased by its necessary consequence, a scarcity of water, and by hordes of Mewattee robbers, who kept close on the track of the army, pillaging and murdering whenever they found an opportunity Agra was at length reached on the 5th of June, and the troops moved to occupy their allotted cantonments during the rainy season. The first campaign thus closed with no very satisfactory results.

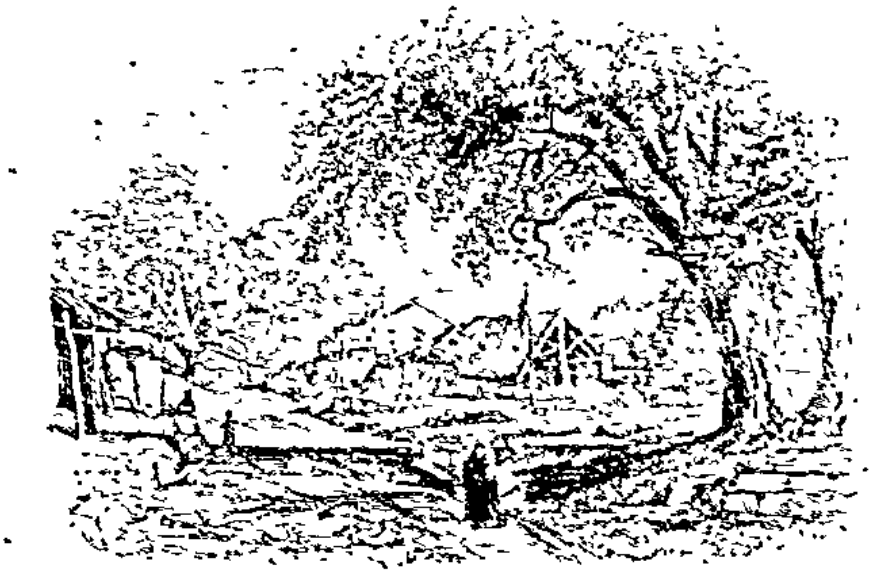
Colonel Monson's detachment

The force which Lord Lake when he set out on his return left with Colonel Monson to keep Holkar in check, amounted to five battalions of sepoys and about 3000 irregular horse With these, intending to co-operate with Colonel Murray from Gujerat, he entered Holkar's territory by the Mokundra Pass, and sent forward a detachment, which took the hill-fort of Hinglaisghur by escalade He had afterwards advanced fifty miles beyond the pass in the direction of the Chumbul, when, on the 7th of July, information reached him that Holkar, who had retired beyond that river into Malwah, had recrossed it with his whole army Colonel Monson hastened to meet him, but soon found it expedient to desist. His force had been greatly weakened by the absence of two detachments, the one which had taken Hinglaisghur, and was not yet returned, and another which he had been obliged to send off for a supply of

grain, of which he had barely enough for two days' consumption. He was moreover greatly staggered by a report that Colonel Murray, on whose co-operation he had calculated, intended to fall back on the Mhye. Influenced by these considerations, he resolved to retrace his steps in the direction of the Mokundra Pass. On the 8th of July, at four in the morning, he began his

A.D. 1804.

Colonel Monson's detachment



PASS OF MOKUNDRA, MALWAH.—From Capt. Elliot's Views in the East

retreat by sending off his baggage and stores to Sonara. He remained on the ground of encampment with his troops drawn up in order of battle till nine, and then, as no enemy appeared, continued his march, leaving the irregular cavalry under Lieutenant Lucan to follow in half an hour, and bring him intelligence of Holkar's motions. He had made a march of twelve miles when he was startled by the intelligence that Holkar had come up with his whole army, completely defeated Lieutenant Lucan, and made him prisoner. Only waiting so long as to obtain full confirmation of the disaster, Colonel Monson continued his march, and reached the pass on the 9th without molestation.

On the 10th of July the Mahratta cavalry appeared, and next morning, when their numbers had greatly increased, Holkar sent to demand the surrender of the guns and small arms. This was of course refused; and both parties prepared for the encounter. Holkar, dividing his horse into three bodies, charged the detachment vigorously on the front and flanks, but the advantageous position and valour of the defenders enabled them to repel all his attacks. On being thus foiled, he drew off about four miles, and was joined by his infantry and artillery. Colonel Monson, having no doubt of a renewed attack, and believing his post not to be tenable, resolved to retire upon Kottah. After two marches, though harassed by the enemy, and suffering still more from the excessive rains, he succeeded in reaching it—but it was only to meet a great disappointment. He expected both shelter and provisions. The

His disastrous retreat

A.D. 1804. Rajah of Kottah refused to give either, and the retreat was continued towards the Gaumuch ford on the Chumbul. The distance from Kottah was only seven miles, and yet, from the incessant rain and the softness of the soil, a whole day was spent in accomplishing it. The ford was then impassable, but was crossed on the following day. A halt had become necessary in order to procure some grain, and on the 15th, when the march was resumed, the guns sunk so deep in the mud that they could not be extricated, and there was no alternative but to spike and abandon them The Rajah of Boondee, one of the chiefs with whom the British had recently entered into alliance, was requested to secure them. This he could not do; but it ought to be mentioned, to his honour, that he proved a faithful ally in the face of Holkar's whole army.

Disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson

On the 17th of July the troops reached the Chumbelee, usually a mere rivulet, but then so swollen that it was not fordable. The artillerymen, however, were sent across on elephants, and proceeded to the fort of Rampoorah. Nearly ten days were spent in conveying the rest of the troops across, partly on elephants and partly on rafts. Great privations were suffered during this delay; many men too were drowned in crossing; and what was even more distressing, many of the wives and children of the sepoys, who had, perhaps necessarily, but certainly not humanely, been left to the last on the opposite side, were barbarously murdered by the Bheels under the very eyes of their husbands and fathers, who were unable to give them any protection On the 29th of July the whole corps reached Rampoorah, where a reinforcement of two battalions of sepoys, with four six-pounders and two howitzers, a body of cavalry, and a supply of grain forwarded by Lord Lake from Agra, was waiting for them Notwithstanding this relief, Colonel Monson judged it prudent to continue his retreat to Kooshalghur, where he expected to be joined by six of Scindia's battalions and twenty-one guns, under Sedasheo Bhow Bhaskur, the officer whom Holkar defeated at Poonah, and to obtain a stock of provisions that would enable him to keep the field. His force, now consisting of five battalions and six companies of sepoys, reached the Bunass on the 22d of August. The river was so swollen that it could not be forded; but advantage was taken of those boats which were found to send the treasure across, and six companies of the 21st regiment, with orders to proceed to Kooshalghur.

Encounters with the enemy

Early on the morning of the 23d of August, large bodies of Holkar's cavalry appeared, and encamped at the distance of about four miles. The river was next day fordable, and most of the baggage, and four battalions, with a howitzer, were sent across. The enemy's cavalry also crossed in great numbers to the right and left of the British position. At four in the afternoon their infantry and artillery arrived, and began to cannonade the battalion and pickets still left on the south bank to protect the remainder of the baggage and camp followers. By a spirited charge the enemy were driven back, and even some of their guns momentarily captured; but they soon rallied, and, led

by Holkar in person, charged in such overpowering numbers, that the handful of troops opposed to them were nearly annihilated. In consequence of this disaster, Colonel Monson was obliged to abandon the baggage, in order to facilitate his retreat to Kooshalghur, which he reached on the night of the 25th. He had expected to find a powerful auxiliary in Sedasheo Bhow, and was surprised to find that he had already declared himself an enemy, by attempting to levy a contribution on the town, which belonged to the Rajah of Jeypoor, and demanding the surrender of the elephants, treasure, and baggage of the British detachment, which had been deposited in the fort. When this demand was refused, he had actually cannonaded the place, but without effect.

A.D. 1804.

Disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson.

On the morning of the 26th of August, the whole of the enemy's cavalry encamped in separate bodies around the detachment, whose difficulties were greatly increased by the detection of a treacherous correspondence of some of the native officers with Holkar. Though the most energetic measures were taken to check the meditated mischief, two companies of sepoys and a large proportion of the native cavalry deserted. At seven the same evening, Colonel Monson again moved with his troops formed into an oblong, which the enemy attempted in vain to penetrate, and on the night of the 27th reached the ruined fort of Hindown. After resting a few hours he resumed his retreat at one in the morning, but had no sooner cleared the ravines in the vicinity than the enemy's cavalry made a desperate charge in three divisions. It was repulsed with great bravery and coolness, the sepoys reserving their fire till their assailants were within reach of the bayonet. This was but a short-lived success. About sunset of the 28th, the troops, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, arrived at the Biana Pass, where it was Colonel Monson's intention to halt during the night. The enemy coming up with their guns did not permit it, and the retreat was continued to the town of Biana. The confusion which had been rapidly increasing now became inextricable, the troops fairly broke, and fled to make the best of their way to Agra, pursued by straggling parties of the enemy as far as Futtehpoor.

His detachment defeated and dispersed.

In consequence of this disastrous retreat, it became absolutely necessary that Lord Lake should take the field without delay, though the rain was still pouring down in torrents, and large tracts of the country were under water. The troops were accordingly ordered out of cantonments, and the assembled army encamped on the right bank of the Jumna, between Agra and Secundra, on the 27th of September. Not a moment was to be lost. Holkar, at the head of an army which, according to Sir John Malcolm,[1] "amounted to 92,000 men, of whom 66,000 were cavalry, 7000 artillery, and 19,000 infantry, and 192 pieces of ordnance," had triumphantly advanced to Muttra, which was abandoned at his approach, and spread consternation over the country. On the 1st of October, 1804, the British army marched northward, and encamped

Lord Lake takes the field.

[1] Sir John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, vol. i. p. 258.

A.D. 1804. on the 3d within a mile of Muttra, which, having been abandoned by Holkar, was again in British possession. Flying parties of the enemy scouring the country, had in the meantime fallen in with a party of convalescent sepoys, coming with a convoy of a hundred camels laden with grain for the army, and captured the whole. Holkar's camp was at Aurung, to the west of Muttra, on the road to Deeg, and General Lake proceeded in that direction on the 7th with the view of attacking it. A surprise was intended, but though the troops sent for the purpose arrived in the neighbourhood of the camp before daylight, the enemy were already mounted, and kept at such a distance that it was impossible to make an effectual charge. The attack was therefore abandoned, and the enemy returned to occupy their camp as before. Another attempt to bring them to action having failed, the army marched from Muttra on the 12th, no longer to the west, but northward in the direction of Delhi. While Lord Lake had been making fruitless attempts at Aurung, Holkar had moved with his brigades and artillery on the Mogul capital, and well nigh succeeded in gaining possession of Shah Alum's person. The plan was well conceived, and only frustrated by the precaution and gallantry of Colonel Ochterlony, the resident, who, on the first news of the enemy's approach, had assembled as many troops as possible from the neighbourhood.

War with Holkar

He advances on Delhi

Gallant defence of Delhi

The possibility of defending Delhi was very doubtful. The walls were in a shattered state, the ramparts in many places fallen, and the bastions so weak and narrow, that little use could be made of them. When Holkar's horse made their appearance on the morning of the 7th, the infantry were ordered within the walls. It was intended to employ the irregular cavalry outside, but when they came within sight of the enemy, and might, from the small number which had yet arrived, have charged with success, they positively refused, and finally dispersed. On the morning of the 8th the enemy's infantry and artillery appeared in sight, and a detachment being pushed forward, opened a heavy cannonade against the south east angle of the city wall. During the cannonade nearly forty feet of the parapet gave way, and by means of batteries erected during the night, the whole parapet was demolished, and partial breaches were even made in the wall. The defenders, urged to exert themselves to the utmost by the inspiriting influence of Colonel Ochterlony, repaired the damage, and were even emboldened to make a sortie. It took place on the 10th, and was so successful as to spike the guns of a battery and inflict a considerable loss on the besiegers. Having now little hope of succeeding in this direction, the enemy employed their utmost efforts against the southern face. They were enabled to approach it under cover of gardens and ruins, and soon made a breach in the curtain between the Turcoman and the Ajmere gates. They were unable, however, to avail themselves of this success, as the defenders were able by the 12th effectually to cut off any communication through the breach with the town. During the whole of the

A D 1804

lery, commanded by European officers. The army now continued south in pursuit of Holkar, part of whose horse were shortly after seen, and continued hovering about the line of march, though he himself was far in advance carrying on his work of devastation. On the 15th of November he was at Furruckabad, thirty-six miles ahead, when Lord Lake, following close in pursuit without tent or baggage, received the agreeable news of a victory gained in the vicinity of Deeg. Deferring the details for the present, we must accompany Lord Lake in his pursuit of Holkar and his cavalry. At daylight of the 17th, the head of the British column reached the skirts of the enemy's camp, and gave the first intimation of their arrival by sending several rounds of grape into the very heart of it. Immediately thereafter, the cavalry dashed in as fast as they could gallop up, charging and cutting down in all directions. The surprise was most complete, and in a few minutes the whole plain was covered with dead. Holkar himself was one of the first to flee with what troops he had about him, and never stopped till he had crossed the Caline, eighteen miles distant, and taken the road to Mainpoor. The rest of the troops, left to shift for themselves, were cut up or dispersed. The pursuit was continued upwards of ten miles, and as the march during the preceding day and night was fifty-eight miles, the whole ground passed over in the twenty-four hours before new encampment ground was taken up was about seventy miles—"an effort," says Thorn, "probably unparalleled in the annals of military history, especially when it is considered that it was made after a long and harassing march of 350 miles in the space of a fortnight." While performing this brilliant exploit, the British loss was only two killed and about twenty wounded. Holkar's loss was estimated at 3000 killed on the field, and his whole cavalry, which, when he entered Hindoostan, were 60,000, were now reduced to half that number. On this day the army fired three royal salutes, for as many victories—the one, this victory of Furruckabad; the second, the capture by Colonel Wallace of Chandore, the only stronghold of the Holkar family in the Deccan; and the third, the victory of Deeg, of which an account must now be given.

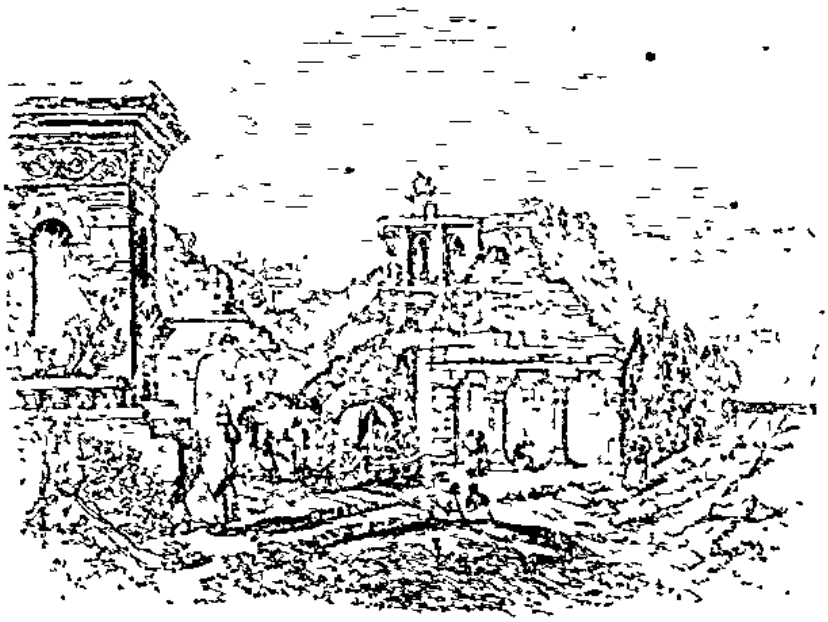
Holkar overtaken, surprised, and defeated

Victory of Furruckabad

A few days after Lord Lake left Delhi in pursuit of Holkar's horse, General Fraser set out in pursuit of his brigades and guns, which were known to be within the territories of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. On the 12th of November he arrived in the neighbourhood of Deeg, and from the surrounding heights discovered the enemy encamped between a deep tank and an extensive morass, their left resting on the fort of Deeg, and their right covered by a fortified village, while their whole position was defended by ranges of batteries which they deemed impregnable. It was determined to attack them on the following morning. Two battalions of sepoys and the irregular cavalry having been left in charge of the baggage, the remaining British force consisted of his majesty's 76th regiment, the Company's European regiment, and four sepoy battalions. The right having been selected as the point of attack, the British column, after

Victory of Deeg

making a considerable detour southward in order to avoid the morass, arrived about daybreak at the fortified village, and immediately wheeled into line, the 76th regiment and two battalions forming the first, and the other troops the second line. The 76th carried the fortified village with their bayonets, and A.D. 1804 Victory of Deeg.



RUINS AT DEEG.—From Bacon's Oriental Portfolio

then running down the hill, charged the first range of guns under a tremendous shower of round, grape, and chain shot. The guns were instantly abandoned by their defenders, who retired to fresh batteries. The Company's European regiment on arriving at the village, and seeing the 76th so far ahead among the thickest of the enemy, rushed forward to their support, followed by the sepoys. When the second range of guns was about to be attacked, General Fraser fell mortally wounded by a cannon-shot, which carried off his leg, and the command devolved on Colonel Monson. The second range yielded to a charge of bayonets like the first, and battery after battery yielded, till the gallant assailants were carried under the guns of the fort, and suffered some loss. During these exploits a body of the enemy's horse gained possession of the first range of guns, and turned them on the British rear, till they were gallantly recaptured by only 28 men of the 76th under Captain Norford, though unfortunately at the expense of his own life. The enemy now seeking safety in flight, numbers of them precipitated themselves into the morass and perished, while the rest found protection under the guns of the fort. The British loss was 643 killed and wounded, of whom twenty-three were European officers; the loss of the enemy must have been very great, as no less than 2000 are supposed to have been killed or drowned in attempting to escape. According to the most accurate accounts the enemy's force consisted of twenty-four battalions, a considerable body of cavalry, and 160 pieces of cannon. Of the

A.D. 1804. last eighty-seven were taken, and among them, much to Colonel Monson's satisfaction, fourteen of those which he had been obliged to sacrifice during his retreat. Holkar after his rout at Furruckabad had hastened off to Deeg, where the remnants of his defeated infantry and cavalry were now assembled. Lord Lake lost no time in following upon his track, and having on the 28th of November crossed the Jumna by the bridge of boats at Muttra, rejoined the infantry, which were then encamped about three miles to the west. During the month's separation the cavalry had marched upwards of 500 miles.

Battle of Deeg.

The Rajah of Bhurtpoor in league with Holkar.

While Holkar's fortunes were thus at the lowest, he obtained an important auxiliary in Runjeet Sing, Rajah of Bhurtpoor, who had already abandoned the alliance which the British formed with him at his own earnest request, and was now openly leagued with their declared enemy. At the battle of Deeg his cavalry fought on the side of Holkar, and the guns of the fort of Deeg, though it belonged to the rajah, not only protected the fugitives of Holkar's army, but were turned with deadly effect on the British when they attempted to pursue them From this time his interests and those of Holkar were completely identified, and the British could only regard them as common and inveterate enemies. As the rajah is about to occupy a prominent place in our narrative, some account of him, and of the tribe of Jats to which he belonged, will be necessary.

Origin and progress of the Jats

The Jats—whom Tod, in his *History of Rajasthan*, has with more ingenuity than success endeavoured to identify with the ancient *Getæ*, and with the Jutes, through whom they might claim a place among our Danish ancestors—had, during the various revolutions in Hindoostan which followed the reign of Aurungzebe, established themselves on the banks of the Jumna At first they were known chiefly as laborious agriculturists, but in course of time the necessity of self-defence and the temptations of ambition converted them into soldiers. A succession of warlike chieftains turned this change in their character to account Chooraman, their first leader of note, took a prominent part in the civil contests during the reign of the emperor Mahomed Shah, in the early part of the eighteenth century His grandson Sobraj Mal was still more distinguished, and claiming both the title of rajah and the rights of an independent sovereign built the forts of Deeg and Koombher, improved the fortifications of Bhurtpoor, which he made his capital; and raised an army of 30,000 men, with which he joined the Mahratta league against Ahmed Shah Doorranee A fortunate quarrel with Sedasheo Bhow, the Mahratta chief, made him withdraw from the league, and thus saved him from the carnage at Paniput During the carnage which followed he managed to obtain possession of Agra, and brought his tribe to the highest pitch of prosperity which it ever attained At his death, the Jats possessed a territory about 100 miles long by 50 broad, extending along both sides of the Jumna, from the vicinity of Gwalior to that of Delhi. Under his son Nawal Sing this prosperity rapidly declined.

In 1774 Agra was wrested from them by Nujeef Khan, the emperor's commander-in-chief by name, but really independent, and they possessed little more than Bhurtpoor and the district around it, when Runjeet Sing, the grandson of Sooraj Mál, succeeded. Under him the former prosperity was partially revived, and his revenue, though far short of that of his grandfather, was estimated at from twelve to fifteen lacs. He had a force of about 6000 horse and foot in constant pay, and was reputed to be able on emergencies to raise the number to 30,000. As he was the first chief who applied for alliance with the British in Hindoostan during the war with Scindia, he was liberally treated, and received a free grant of territory adding nearly a third to his former revenue. How ungratefully he requited the favour has been partly seen by his conduct at the battle of Deeg, and will now more fully appear. A D 1804. Bhurtpoor the Jat capital

On the 1st of December Lord Lake moved in the direction of Deeg, and the following day encamped within sight of it. The reserve under Colonel Don, with the battering train from Agra, did not arrive till the 11th An interval of nine days was thus spent, partly in reconnoitring and partly in skirmishing with Holkar's horse, who hovered round in large bodies without being allowed any opportunity of meditated mischief. On the arrival of Colonel Don, the whole army moved in an oblong square, protected on all sides so as to be secure from any attack. The necessity of moving thus cautiously arose from the immense area covered by the line of march. The followers, says Thorn, "were not less than 60,000; and our cattle might at a very moderate rate be estimated at 200 elephants, 2000 camels, and 100,000 bullocks for carrying grain, equipage, and baggage, both public and private." On the 14th, the army which had encamped near the fortified village which formed the point of attack in the recent battle, moved round the hill on which it stands, and took up a final position a little to the south west of the fort Lord Lake's advance on Deeg.

Deeg, situated about forty-four miles W.N W. from Agra, is so completely surrounded by marshes, and by jheels or small lakes, fed by a stream called the Manus Nye, as to be inaccessible to an enemy during most part of the year. The town, which is of considerable size, is inclosed by a strong mud wall with bastions, and a deep ditch, which is carried all round except at one point in the south-west, which terminates in a rocky eminence called the Shah Bourj. This eminence, though it had an area of not more than fifty yards square on the inside, was surrounded by a wall with four commanding bastions, on one of which a large seventy-four pounder was mounted The fort stood within the town wall, about a mile north-east from the Shah Bourj. It was nearly in the form of a square, strongly built, inclosed by high and thick ramparts furnished with bastions, and a deep ditch faced with masonry. Its massive gateways were flanked with lofty towers, on one of which a sixty-pounder was placed. Immediately west of the fort stood the palace, a noble structure in which the rajah resided when Deeg was the capital. Its natural strength

A D 1804.

Siege and capture of Deeg

The siege immediately commenced by breaking ground on the night of the 13th, in a tope to the south-west of the Shah Bourj or King's Redoubt, which was selected as the point of attack. Before sunrise a trench 300 yards long, a mortar battery, and one for two six-pounders were completed. Towards evening of the same day, a breaching battery was commenced in the same locality, within 750 yards of the Shah Bourj. During these operations considerable annoyance was given by the enemy's matchlock-men, who were stationed in the old mud fort of Gopaul Ghur, forming a kind of outwork. The breaching battery was, notwithstanding, completed on the night of the 16th, and opened on the following morning from six eighteen-pounders, four twelves, and four mortars. It continued firing for several days with very little effect. The distance was too great, but the blunder being at length repaired by the erection of a new battery nearer the enemy's works, more rapid progress was made, the enemy's guns were mostly silenced, and the breach was pronounced practicable. Up to this time the enemy had never been shut up within the walls, but on the contrary had brought a number of guns into the plain, and placed them so judiciously under the cover of natural embankments, as to enfilade the batteries of the besiegers, at the same time that they were sheltered from them. It was hence necessary, when the assault was made on the 23d of December, to form the storming party into three columns, one of which was to make the main attack on the Shah Bourj, while the other two were to attack the batteries on the plain under the walls. All three succeeded, though only after an obstinate resistance, the enemy not only standing firmly to their guns, and, when no longer able to fire them, using their swords till most of them were bayoneted. After the Shah Bourj was carried, the work seemed only half accomplished, as the fort was still entire, but the enemy were too much dispirited to risk a second assault, and on the night of the 24th evacuated the fort, to make the best of their way to Bhurtpoor. Hence, on Christmas Day, 1804, the British were in complete possession of Deeg, both town and fort, together with all the guns within and without, amounting to 100, and including the greater part of Holkar's remaining artillery. A large quantity of grain was also captured, besides two lacs of rupees found in the public treasury.

Siege of Bhartpoor

The next object, and one of a much more formidable nature, was the siege of Bhurtpoor, situated about twenty miles S S E. of Deeg, and thirty-four miles W.N W. of Agra, on a plain amidst jungles and lakes. Its condition at the time when the siege commenced is thus described by Lord Lake himself, in a despatch to the governor-general. "A mud wall of great height and thickness, and a very wide and deep ditch everywhere surround it. The fort is situated at its eastern extremity, and is of a square figure. One side of that square overlooks the country; the remaining three sides are within the town. It occupies a situation that appears more elevated than the town, and its walls are said to be higher, and its ditch of greater width and deepness. The circumfer-

ence of both town and fort is upwards of eight miles, and their walls in all that extent are flanked with bastions at short distances, on which are mounted a very numerous artillery." Before this place Lord Lake arrived with his army on the 2d of January, 1805, and immediately commenced the siege. The camp was on the south-west of the town, and operations began with seizing a grove considerably in advance of it, for the purpose of facilitating the approaches. This was done without difficulty on the evening of the 4th, and on the following evening a breaching battery for six eighteen-pounders was erected. This battery opened its fire on the morning of the seventh, and in the course of the same day another battery of four eight-inch and four of five and a half inch mortars, began throwing shells into the town. This cannonade, well responded to by the garrison, was continued with little interruption till the morning of the 9th, when a practicable breach in the western curtain, not far from the south-west angle, was reported. Previous breaches had been made, but the enemy had succeeded in stockading them. To prevent this from being done in the present instance, it was determined at once to assault.

A.D. 1805

Siege of Bhurtpoor.

The storming party moved off at seven o'clock in the evening, in three columns—one to attempt a gateway on the left of the breaching battery, and another to carry the enemy's advanced guns on the right, while the third or centre column, consisting of 500 Europeans and a battalion of sepoys, was to enter by the breach. At eight o'clock the three columns marched out of the trenches, and immediately encountered a tremendous fire of cannon and small arms. It had been hoped that the centre column might take the enemy by surprise, but in this it failed, owing partly to the irregularity of the ground broken up with pools and swamps, and partly to the darkness of the night. From these causes the advance of the column was greatly impeded, and many of the men belonging to it lost their way, some following the left column and some the right. The flanked companies of the 22d, however, crossed the ditch breast-high in water, and mounted the breach, but being only twenty-three in number, could not attempt to storm the guns on the bastions to the right and left. In this predicament Lieutenant Manser made the men sit down in the breach, while he went in search of the rest of the column. The object of the left column in attacking the gateway had been to endeavour to enter it along with the fugitives To this a deep drain presented an insurmountable impediment, and it returned, as did also the right column which had driven the enemy from their guns, to support the centre column. They arrived too late. The few flankers of the 22d, left in the breach exposed to an enfilading fire of grape from three guns of the right bastion, and seeing no prospect of support, were drawn off. The assault, in fact, had failed, and nothing remained for the assailants but to make the best of their way back to the trenches. In so doing they were exposed to the full fire of the enemy's guns and musketry, and suffered dreadfully. The British loss in this lamentable affair was 85 killed and 371 wounded.

A premature and disastrous assault

A D. 1805.

Siege operations were immediately resumed, but as the previous breach had been repaired, it was resolved to effect another a little more to the right. For this purpose a breaching battery was erected adjoining the former, and mounting two twenty-four and four eighteen pounders, and also several twelve-pounder batteries, to take off the defences. The guns and mortars of the whole batteries again opened on the 16th with a very heavy fire, and with so much effect that a new breach was formed, and though on the following morning the garrison had stockaded it, still by continuing the fire the piles gave way, and left a hole quite through the work. The batteries continued playing incessantly for five days, when a large and practicable breach was effected. It seemed necessary, however, after the severe lesson taught by the former repulse, to use greater caution. Under an idea that the ditch was not fordable, three broad ladders covered with laths, and easily raised or depressed by means of levers, had been provided. That there might be no mistake, the exact dimensions of the ditch opposite to the breach behoved to be ascertained. This was no easy task; but three British troopers and three native horsemen, one of them a havildar or sergeant, tempted by the reward of £50 each and immediate promotion, undertook the task. Their mode of accomplishing it was singular. Having put on the dress of the country, they were seen about three in the afternoon, riding furiously toward the fort, and pursued as deserters by a party of sepoys, who were firing at them. On arriving at the brink of the ditch, two of the troopers' horses fell, and while the men were extricating themselves the havildar called to the soldiers on the wall, to save them from the accursed Feringhees, and show them the nearest entrance to the city. Not suspecting any stratagem, the soldiers pointed to a gate in the very direction required, and the havildar as soon as the men were again mounted, rode with them along the ditch till he had passed the bridge and made the necessary observations. The difficulty now was to return. This they could only do by putting spurs to their horses, and galloping back at full speed amid showers of balls, which the garrison sent after them the moment the trick was discovered. They all escaped unhurt, and reported that the ditch was not very broad and apparently not deep, and that the breach itself might be easily mounted

Preparations for a second assault

In consequence of this information, though evidently too loose to be acted upon in a matter of so much importance, the assault was fixed for the following day (the 21st). The storming party consisted of 150 men of the 76th, 120 of the 75th, 100 of the Company's 1st European regiment, and the 50 survivors of the 22d flankers, the last headed by Captain Lindsay, who, still suffering from former wounds, threw away his crutch and moved with his arm in a sling. The portable bridges were carried by picked men, who had been previously exercised in the mode of throwing them over. The advance was to be supported by the remainder of the above regiments, and the second battalion of the 9th, 15th, and 22d native infantry The command of the attack

Its failure

was intrusted to Colonel Macrae. At three in the afternoon the storming party moved out, covered by the fire of the batteries, but no sooner reached the ditch than they encountered an unexpected and insurmountable obstacle. The garrison by damming up the ditch below the bridge, and sending in a large quantity of water from above, had added greatly and almost instantaneously both to its depth and width. The portable bridges were consequently too short, and only a few men, who were bold enough and able to swim across, succeeded in mounting the breach. As there were no means of supporting them it seemed madness to persevere. Colonel Macrae therefore recalled those who had crossed, and the second storming party was obliged like the first to run the gauntlet of a most destructive fire before the trenches could be regained. The loss on this occasion was still more serious than before, amounting in killed and wounded to 591.

A.D. 1805.

Failure of second attack on Bhurtpoor.



GENERAL LORD LAKE.
From print in Military Chronicle 1813

While making full allowance for contingencies which it was impossible to foresee, one cannot help suspecting that there was at least as much mismanagement as misfortune in these two repulses, and that Lord Lake, however able as a field officer, did not possess either the skill or the patience necessary to insure success in regular sieges. He had hitherto succeeded with minor places by sudden onsets, and he seems to have thought that regular approaches were fit for nothing but causing unnecessary delay. An able writer, adverting to Lord Lake's feelings in this respect, and to the blunders committed by the engineers, says:—"Even if an officer of the requisite ability and experience had been present, it is doubtful whether he would have been attended to, for so confident was the general in the resistless bravery of his troops, and so impatient withal, that he could hardly brook the delay that was necessary to enable his guns to make a breach in the ramparts." We have already seen him pay dear for this ignorant rashness, and before this unhappy siege terminates we shall be called to witness new disasters.

Mismanagement.

One of the original blunders of the siege was the excessive distance at which the batteries were placed. They were rather more than 700 yards from the wall, and made a proportionably feeble impression. Another equally serious blunder was the omission of regular approaches. While thus kept far off from the works, little knowledge could be obtained of their true character and of the obstacles necessary to be removed in order to insure success, and hence the

Change of the attack

A D 1805

necessity of precautions which ought to have been used was not discovered until it was too late to employ them. After the two signal failures new plans were adopted, and the character of the siege was changed. All that had previously been done was abandoned as useless; and the camp shifting round to the north and east of the town, the whole operations were commenced anew by carrying on regular approaches and erecting the batteries within the distance of 400 yards. On the 11th of February two batteries, one of them consisting of six eighteen-pounders and another of eight mortars, opened their fire at this distance, and another still nearer, to take off the defences on the right bastion, was in course of erection On the 20th the approaches had been carried to the brink of the ditch, and a mine was intended to be made for the purpose of blowing up the counterscarp and giving a sloping access.

Change in the attack on Bhurtpoor

A third disastrous assault

All things were now in such a state of forwardness that the storming party was ordered to the trenches at an early hour, so as to be ready for the attack as soon as the repairs made by the garrison on the breach during the night should be destroyed. So bold, however, had the enemy become that, on the very night when the above orders were given to prepare for the assault, they made a sally, crept into the approach at daybreak unperceived, as the men at work there always left a little earlier, and remained for some time, demolishing the preparations that had been made for the mine and carrying off the implements. The storming party had just reached the trenches when another sally, composed partly of those who were concealed in the approach and partly of a reinforcement from the town, rushed out, and was not repulsed without considerable loss to the besiegers. The enemy still keeping possession of a trench in advance of the lines, it was proposed to dislodge them and follow them closely into the breach. The men, however, were not in a condition to give prompt obedience to these orders The boldness shown by the enemy in their sally had dispirited, and the effort made in repulsing it had to some degree exhausted them, while an idea prevailed that the party who had for some time lain concealed in the approach might have filled the chamber, and made every necessary preparation for exploding it Under the influence of this fear the soldiers of his majesty's 75th and 76th regiments, who were at the head of the column, refused to advance. The few men remaining of the 22d flankers stepped boldly forward, but as they could effect nothing by themselves were recalled. Two native regiments, the 12th and 15th, when called to the front, took the place of honour, of which his majesty's troops had proved unworthy. Unfortunately the ditch near the breach again proved impassable; but a bastion to the right had so rugged an aspect that several men succeeded in climbing it, and actually planted there the colours of the 12th native regiment. The climbing, however, being practicable only for one at a time, was too slow a process to secure the bastion, and the advantage gained was consequently lost. This third repulse was the most disastrous of all, the loss in killed and wounded amounting to 894.

Amid the general despondency caused by these repeated disasters, the general discovered a gleam of hope in the very partial success which had attended the climbing of the bastion. More battering would, it was supposed, make it easy of ascent, and it was therefore resolved to make it the point of a new assault on the following day. On the parade the commander-in-chief went up to the troops whose refusal to advance had been followed by such disastrous results, and "addressed them," says Thorn, "in terms of affectionate regret rather than stern severity," expressing "his sorrow that by not obeying their officers yesterday they had lost the laurels which they had gained on so many occasions." He was "yet willing to give them an opportunity of retrieving their reputation," and therefore called upon such as chose to volunteer in another effort to step out. They all volunteered to a man. The batteries in the meantime had opened their fire on the bastion and made such a gap in it that it was expected to tumble down by its own weight This expectation was not realized; but if the assault was to be persevered in, further delay was impossible, as the ammunition was nearly exhausted and the army were suffering greatly from the want of supplies of every description. An assault under such circumstances was not so much a deliberate act as an effort of despair.

A D 1805

A last desperate assault resolved upon

The storming party, placed under the command of Colonel Monson, was large, consisting of the whole European force, two battalions of the Bengal native infantry, the greater part of the 65th and 86th regiments, the grenadier battalion, and the flank companies of the first battalion of the third regiment of the Bombay army. It is difficult to say what the plan of the attack was, for the men appear to have been sent at hap-hazard to work their way as they best could up the face of a bastion still standing, though apparently tottering to its fall, and it says much for their dauntless courage that, in moving out to the attack at three in the afternoon, they cheered as they passed the commander-in-chief, in token of their determination to carry the place and avenge their comrades or perish in the attempt. The result was only too soon ascertained. The monstrous task which had been assigned them is thus described by Thorn—"The bastion to be attacked was extremely steep; and though the gap that had been made in it below sheltered those who could avail themselves of its protection, there was no possibility of getting from thence to the summit Several soldiers drove their bayonets into the wall, one over another, and endeavoured by these steps to reach the top, but were knocked down by logs of wood, large shot, and various missiles from above. Others attempted to get up by the shot-holes which our guns had here and there made, but, as only two at the most could advance in this dangerous way, they who thus ventured were easily killed, and when one man fell he brought down with him those who were immediately beneath. All this time the enemy on the next bastion kept up a sweeping and most destructive fire" During this fearful struggle efforts were made on the curtain and other places which offered the least chance of success

Its failure.

A D. 1805.

The siege of Bhurtpoor converted into a blockade

It was all in vain. The assailants were met at every point by showers of grape and missiles of every kind, flaming packs of cotton previously dipped in oil, and pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles, which, in exploding, spread death around them Hopeless as it was throughout, the conflict was maintained for two hours before the men were drawn off. They had done their duty. Can it be said that the commander-in-chief did his when he sent them on such an errand? The loss in killed and wounded was 987. These, added to those sacrificed in the previous assaults, give an aggregate of 3203 men. The numbers who had in the meantime died in the camp would furnish another heavy item. All idea of active operations was now abandoned, and the siege was converted into a blockade. There was in fact no alternative Most of the guns employed had become unserviceable, and large detachments behoved to be sent off for supplies. The position of the army was indeed critical The successes of the enemy had given them new courage, and when Lord Lake selected a new encampment to the north-east of Bhurtpoor he had some difficulty in reaching it in consequence of the interruptions given by the enemy's horse. What, the reader naturally asks, had become of the British cavalry? This must now be explained

Ameer Khan at Bhurtpoor

When the siege commenced the Rajah of Bhurtpoor endeavoured to strengthen himself by calling in the aid of Ameer Khan, who was then carrying on his predatory warfare in Bundelcund. That celebrated marauder, anticipating a more abundant harvest of plunder, soon made his appearance; and, when united with Holkar and the rajah, formed so powerful a body of confederate horse that, at the very time when the second assault was made, the British cavalry stood drawn up in two lines for the purpose of opposing it. Ameer Khan shortly after attempted to cut off a convoy of 12,000 bullocks, and had very nearly succeeded by attacking the escort, which amounted only to 1400. with 8000, when a reinforcement from the camp fortunately arrived, and assisted in driving him off the field with the loss of 600 men and forty stands of colours. So complete was the defeat that he only escaped by changing his dress and mingling with the rabble of fugitives. During the contest, however, a great many bullocks of the convoy laden with grain went astray and were never recovered On the 27th of January an attempt was made on another convoy coming from Agra. The convoy consisted of 50,000 bullocks carrying grain, and about 800 hackeries laden with stores and ammunition, 8000 rounds of eighteen-pound shot for battering guns, and six lacs of rupees. The escort consisted of the 29th light dragoons, two corps of native cavalry, and three battalions of sepoys The rajah, and his auxiliaries Holkar, Ameer Khan, and Bapoojee Scindia, united their whole strength, in the hope of making a prize of this valuable convoy about half-way between Agra and the camp They were again frustrated by a powerful reinforcement, and suffered still more severely than before, and the convoy arrived safely without the loss of a single bullock.

His unsuccessful attacks on British convoys.

These defeats so disconcerted the confederates that they began to quarrel among themselves as to the share of the blame. The rajah in particular, on whom the expense more immediately fell, began to regard his allies as an encumbrance, and Ameer Khan, who saw that his golden hopes had vanished, began to look out for a new field of plunder. Rohilcund, of which he was a native, obtained the preference, and he therefore set out with his whole force, and a large body of Pindarees, a noted robber tribe, of which more will be heard hereafter. The position of the British army before Bhurtpoor convinced him that he could not be followed unless the siege were raised, and he therefore crossed the Jumna on the 7th of February, expecting to have ample time to levy a rich booty. In this he had deceived himself. The very day after his departure the British cavalry, consisting of the 8th, 27th, and 29th light dragoons, and three regiments of native horse with horse artillery, the whole commanded by General Smith, were following close upon his track. Having crossed the Jumna by the bridge of boats at Muttra, they encamped about three miles beyond. After marching and countermarching in pursuit of the fleeing enemy, whose movements were very imperfectly known, they arrived at Alighur on the 11th, and were joined by a strong detachment under Colonel Grueber, who had abandoned the siege of the rebel fort of Komona on hearing of Ameer Khan's arrival in the Doab. The pursuit was now continued northward as far as Commandanaghaut on the Ganges, when it was learned that Ameer Khan had only the day before crossed over into Rohilcund. The British cavalry, having ascertained that the water was there only about breast-high, plunged in, and reached the other bank in safety. Continuing east on Ameer Khan's track, they passed Moradabad, and on the 20th reached Rampoor, the capital of the jaghire which the celebrated Rohilla chief Fyzoola Khan secured by his valour when his countrymen were barbarously warred upon by Mr Hastings and the Naboh of Oude. From Rampoor the cavalry proceeded in a south-east direction, within view of the magnificent ranges of the Himalayas, till they arrived at Sheergur Here learning that Ameer Khan was still further north among the hills, where he could not easily be followed, further pursuit was for the present abandoned, and the cavalry retraced their steps first to Rampoor and then Moradabad.

A D 1805

Ameer Khan departs for Rohilcund

He is pursued by British cavalry.

On the 1st of March, while proceeding north-west to Badalle, the smoking ruins of the surrounding villages gave evidence that Ameer Khan could not be distant, and on the following morning, when passing north-east by Sheeroot, it became known that he and all his force were only about nine miles off On this welcome intelligence General Smith, leaving the baggage in charge of the rearguard and the 3d regiment of native cavalry, hastened forward with the remaining troops, consisting of 1400 regular cavalry, and Skinner's horse. At two in the afternoon, after a very long march, the enemy were found near Afzulghur, close under the Kumaon Hills, drawn up as if prepared for an attack.

And overtaken

A D. 1805

Indeed, so courageous were they, that they assumed the offensive, and by rushing upon the dragoons before these had orders to charge, created some confusion.

Ameer Khan defeated

Two bodies of horse also, the one headed by Ameer Khan and the other by his brother, attempted to penetrate the British flanks, but met a reception which compelled them to precipitate retreat with great slaughter. Ameer Khan's infantry, consisting mainly of new levies of Patans, fought boldly, and perished almost to a man; the cavalry generally escaped, the previous long march of the British cavalry making it impossible to follow them with any hopes of success.

General Smith in returning southward first learned, after reaching Moradabad on the 5th, that Ameer Khan, taking a circuitous route after his defeat, had passed this place only the day before. As his object was supposed to be Bareilly and the southern parts of Rohilcund, it was resolved, if possible, to anticipate his arrival. The effect of this movement was to make him double once more, and turn westward towards Sumbul. Here an incident not unworthy of notice had about this time occurred. The younger Skinner, commanding a party of about 500 horse, had been detached to cross the Ganges at Anopshere and return into the Doab. When near Sumbul the detachment was attacked by a large body, headed by Ameer Khan, and completely surrounded. It took shelter in a caravansary, which was gallantly defended for several days, though from the vast superiority of the enemy's numbers, and still more from a want of provisions, an early surrender seemed inevitable. Captain Skinner, made aware of his brother's position, and of the impossbility of relieving him, had recourse to the following stratagem:—Having written a letter to his brother desiring him to hold out, as the main body of the British cavalry would be with him in a few hours, he despatched it by a messenger with instructions to throw himself in Ameer Khan's way, and give up the letter to him. The moment it was read Ameer Khan took flight and decamped, leaving young Skinner and his detachment overjoyed at a deliverance for which, till the matter was explained, they were wholly unable to account.

Successful stratagem of Captain Skinner

Ameer Khan's return to Bhurtpoor

It would be vain to follow Ameer Khan through all his subsequent windings. His incursion into Rohilcund, though it had caused great misery to the inhabitants, had disappointed his expectations. Comparatively few had joined his standard, and even by these, after his defeat at Afzulghur, he was abandoned. On the 13th of March, when he recrossed the Ganges into the Doab, his force had been reduced to less than half its original strength. Continuing his course westward he again crossed the Jumna, and hastened back to his old quarters in the vicinity of Bhurtpoor, where the rajah was not disposed to give him a hearty welcome. General Smith, taking the same direction, reached the British camp on the 23d of March, after a month's absence and a tedious chase of more than 700 miles. The absence of the cavalry during this chase had added greatly to the difficulties of the besiegers, as well as the confidence of the besieged, and hence the annoyance which Lord Lake experienced in

shifting the camp after his final repulse to the north and east side of the fort. A D 1805.

Though the siege had been converted into a blockade, preparations for resuming it were carried on with the greatest activity. Convoys with supplies of all kinds, battering guns, and ammunition daily arrived in the camp. The old guns also were again rendered fit for service, and everything indicated that ere long Bhurtpoor would be subjected to a more formidable attack than it had yet experienced. The rajah could not behold these preparations without gloomy forebodings. The repulses sustained had not in the least diminished the resources of the besiegers, whose spirit and perseverance seemed to rise with the difficulties which they encountered; his resources on the contrary were nearly exhausted, and he knew of no way in which he could replenish them. The allies in whom he trusted were insufficient for their own protection, and he must prepare for being left ere long to maintain the unequal contest single-handed. Prudence, therefore, dictated that the best use which he could make of the advantages he had gained was to employ them as means of terminating hostilities. Influenced by such considerations, he sent a letter to Lord Lake intimating a desire of peace. The overture was favourably received, and his vakeels having arrived in the British camp, the negotiation was commenced. From various causes it did not proceed very rapidly, and during the time which elapsed some important operations took place. Continued blockade of Bhurtpoor.

As soon as the cavalry had rested from the fatigues of their pursuit of Ameer Khan, Lord Lake determined to beat up the quarters of Holkar, who with the residue of his force was encamped about eight miles to the west. Accordingly, at one in the morning of the 29th March, they moved out silently, in hope to come upon him by surprise. They found him, however, on the alert, and were able to do nothing more than engage in an ineffectual pursuit, in which only two elephants, a hundred horses, and fifty camels were captured. Holkar, to avoid a similar risk, removed considerably to the south-west. Here he thought himself secure, till a bitter experience taught him the contrary. On the 2d of April the cavalry, with the reserve and horse artillery, again moved off silently about midnight, and at daybreak came upon the enemy before they had time to mount their horses. They were at once charged in front and on both flanks, and were slain in great numbers, some on the spot, and still more during the pursuit, which was vigorously continued for nearly eight miles. The whole of the bazaars were captured, and whole bodies of troops, considering Holkar's case hopeless, left him to his fate. He was not now possessed of a single place of strength. Indore, his capital, was taken by Colonel Murray shortly after Colonel Monson, misled by false information, commenced his disastrous retreat, Chandore and Gaulnah, his only strongholds in the Deccan, had also fallen, and now, in consequence of a new disaster, he was literally destitute of a place of refuge. In the attack on his camp, the British loss was only two killed and Holkar surprised and defeated.

dencies, unable to come to any final decision. When Holkar prospered, Scindia was warlike, and talked openly of a rupture with the British; when reverses befell him, Scindia was pacific, and full of friendly professions for the British. It would seem that about the time when Holkar commenced his campaign so triumphantly by the destruction of Monson's detachment, and was threatening to make himself master both of Agra and Delhi, Scindia in one of his warlike moods caused a letter to be written for the purpose of being delivered to the governor. It was somewhat in the form of a manifesto, and breathed throughout a spirit of defiance. This letter was dated 18th October, 1804, but the delivery of it seems to have been made dependent on the course of events, and the vakeel to whom it was intrusted moved along by slow stages from Benares to Calcutta, so that it might have been possible to recall him, or give him new instructions at any intervening period before he actually arrived. Shortly after the date of the letter Holkar's prospects darkened. He was chased from Delhi, surprised at Furruckabad, and signally defeated in a pitched battle at Deeg. Had this state of matters continued, the letter would in all probability never have been heard of. The signal failures of the British before Bhurtpoor, however, gave new courage to their enemies, and Scindia's letter was at last put into the hands of the governor-general on the 18th of February, 1805, exactly four months subsequent to its date. It revived a claim to the fort of Gwalior and the territory of Gohud, though his own minister had authorized the British resident to assure the governor-general that "the claim had been entirely relinquished by his master;" and included in a general list of complaints, two in particular—the one, that the British government had not given him the protection they had promised, and the other, that by not furnishing him with money, they had not only left him unable to co-operate in the subjugation of Holkar, but even compelled two of his generals to enter into a feigned league with Holkar, because they could not otherwise obtain subsistence for their troops. In both complaints Scindia only showed that there is no limit to Mahratta effrontery. In complaining of the want of protection he referred to Colonel Murray, who, when at Oojein, then Scindia's capital, had allowed Holkar and Ameer Khan to devastate the surrounding country The fact in this case was, that Colonel Murray's movements were paralyzed by the failure of Scindia to co-operate with him as he had engaged to do, and the opposition he encountered from Scindia's own officers. The second complaint was, if possible, still more shameless. The officers who, according to Scindia, were compelled from want of subsistence to feign a league with Holkar, were Bapoojee Scindia and Sedasheo Bhow. So far from merely feigning a league, both of them were guilty of unequivocal treachery, by deserting to Holkar at a most critical moment, and deserting as was notorious with their master's consent. Scindia's complaints were therefore mere pretexts, on which to found a quarrel which he had long been meditating

A.D. 1805.

Scindia's fluctuating views

A D 1805.

At the date of Scindia's letter, he had consented, on the urgent remonstrance of the resident, to leave Burhanpoor, and proceed N.N.W. to Oojein; but instead of this, proceeded north-east in the direction of Bundelcund, where Ameer Khan was waging war as the ally of Holkar. On his march he made aggressions in violation of his treaty with the British, first on the Nabob of Bhopal, and next on the peishwa himself. These were overt acts of hostility, but as they were not sufficient to disclose his designs, he entered into open communication with Ameer Khan and other allies of Holkar, and did not hesitate both by himself and his ministers, to give decided proofs of sympathy with his cause. So unequivocal, indeed, was his conduct, that Mr. Jenkins, who had become acting resident in Scindia's camp in consequence of the death of Mr. Webbe, determined to leave, and applied for his passports. As this would have been almost equivalent to a declaration of war, for which Scindia had not yet finally decided, he interposed various delays, till Mr. Jenkins, seeing on every side indications of hostility, quitted the camp with his suite and baggage on the 23d of January, 1805. At the end of his first march he was overtaken by a messenger from Scindia, who induced him to return by promising entire compliance with his wishes. Mr. Jenkins in returning left his baggage behind in a grove in the vicinity of Scindia's regular brigade, and while retained at the durbar till evening, received intelligence that his escort had been attacked by a large body of Pindarees, who had carried off the whole baggage, besides wounding the officer in command, the surgeon, and several of the sepoys. Scindia professed great indignation at the outrage, but as he made no effort to punish it, the probability is that it was done with his knowledge, for the purpose of preventing Mr Jenkins' departure.

Scindia displays decided leanings in favour of Holkar

Mr Jenkins, now virtually a prisoner in Scindia's camp, thus describes his position in a letter dated 10th February, 1805:—"Under the operation of the late events, the British residency is become a degraded spectacle to a camp by which it was formerly held in the utmost veneration and respect. Our equipage is reduced to a single tent which occupies a small corner of Scindia's encampment; and in this situation we are exposed to the derision of the plunderers, who triumph in the protection of a nefarious government, under the countenance of which they presume to insult us with the proffer for sale of our plundered effects." In these humiliating circumstances, Mr. Jenkins was paraded on the march as Scindia proceeded northwards from Saugur, with designs which were almost transparent, though it did not yet suit him to avow them. Meanwhile Scindia's letter, which took four months to travel to its destination, had been delivered. Its conclusion was as follows:—"Having maturely weighed and considered all these points, let your excellency be pleased to favour me with a speedy and favourable answer. If by the time of my arrival at Malwah a full and detailed answer to all that I have written arrives, it will be extremely proper and advisable." This style of address

His detention of the British resident

obviously savours of arrogance, and must have been felt by the governor-general to be offensive in the extreme; but, contrary to his usual practice, he restrained his indignation, and, as if for the purpose of allowing it to cool, delayed his answer till the 14th of April. It was long and elaborate, much more so, indeed, than could be necessary, as nothing could be gained by arguing with one who was evidently meditating an appeal to the sword. Scindia's charges were retorted upon himself, and enumerated under thirteen distinct heads. As specimens we give only the first and the last. "1. After your highness's repeated and solemn assurances to the resident of your intention to return to your capital for the purpose of co-operating with the British government in the prosecution of the war, your highness, without affording an explanation to the resident, directed your march towards the territory of Bhopal, in *positive violation of your personal promise, repeatedly made to the resident.* . . . 13. The general conduct of your highness's government, and especially the augmentation of your highness's force and your march to Narwa, have encouraged the enemy to expect your highness's support, of which expectation the enemy has made a public boast; and a general opinion exists in Hindoostan and the Deccan, that your highness has determined to unite your forces with the remnant of the enemy's power in a contest against the British government, your friend and ally." The charges thus retorted might have justified the commencement of hostilities, but the governor-general had at this time many reasons for not proceeding to extreme measures, and he therefore concluded with expressing his desire to maintain peace so long as Scindia would allow it to be possible.

A.D 1805.

Scindia's arrogant letter

Reply of the governor-general.

Scindia was actuated by a different spirit, and conformably to an usual Mahratta interpretation, considered the desire of peace manifested by the governor-general as a sign of conscious weakness. Accordingly, on the 23d of March he intimated by his minister to Mr Jenkins, that he was about to march to Bhurtpoor, for the purpose of mediating a peace between the British government and its enemies. His object in making this intimation was to request the acting-resident to write to the British officers in charge of the different detachments on his route to receive him as a friend. On this preposterous proceeding the governor-general justly remarks: "To proceed at the head of an army to the seat of hostilities for the purpose of interposing his unsolicited mediation, was an act not only inconsistent with the nature of his engagement, but *insulting to the honour, and highly dangerous to the interests* of the British government." A few days before the intimation to Mr. Jenkins, one of Scindia's servants of high rank, but without credentials, waited on Colonel Close at Nagpore, and admitted to him that Scindia was moving to the north because he was offended with the English. Combining the information derived from these different sources, the governor-general could no longer have any doubt as to Scindia's designs, and proceeded with his usual decision and

Scindia's hostile designs frustrated by the peace of Bhurtpoor

A.D. 1805

energy to adopt means to frustrate them. Colonel Close was vested with powers similar to those formerly held by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was now about to quit India for ever, and prosecute the glorious career to which his Indian victories were only a prelude, and Lord Lake was instructed not to allow Scindia to violate the treaty in a single iota. His attempt to march upon Bhurtpoor, should he make it, was to be treated as "not only a declaration of war, but a violent act of hostility." What the result might have been it is difficult to conjecture, as Lord Lake's army, weakened and dispirited, would have found it difficult to cope with a new and powerful confederacy, which might have attacked it at once on opposite sides, and with overwhelming numbers Fortunately Scindia had miscalculated. Neither he nor Holkar was aware that the Rajah of Bhurtpoor had concluded a peace, nor was the rajah himself disposed suddenly to recede from it

Scindia's hostile designs frustrated

In consequence of the altered circumstances, Scindia's tone once more became pacific, and an offer which he made to atone for the outrage committed on the resident's escort was accepted by the governor-general as sufficient Meanwhile his intercourse with Holkar was still kept up, and at last both Holkar and Ameer Khan arriving with their forces, the whole formed virtually one united camp The closeness of the union was afterwards evinced by a characteristic proceeding. Ambajee Inglia, now in the service of Scindia, was in possession of a large amount of treasure, while both his master and Holkar were very much in want of it. The two chiefs combined to enrich themselves by robbing the servant of one of them. Ameer Khan, who was employed by Holkar to do the robbery, states that the suggestion proceeded from Scindia, who observed, "Ambajee Inglia, who professes to be my servant, and has lacs of rupees in ready money, will give no aid. If you can contrive any way of extorting the money from him, you have my permission, but the half must be given to me." Such was the compact, and it was immediately executed by seizing Ambajee and torturing him till he purchased his deliverance by giving up thirty-eight, or, according to some, fifty lacs This was in some respects a fortunate robbery for the Company, as it made Ambajee the irreconcilable enemy of Holkar, and thus disposed him to use all his influence in preventing the new Mahratta confederacy, which was on the point of being formed, from acquiring any degree of stability.

His connections with Holkar

Military operations

On the 21st of April, Lord Lake quitted the vicinity of Bhurtpoor and proceeded south towards the Chumbul, on the banks of which Scindia and Holkar were now encamped. On the 27th, when the resident, who, by his lordship's directions, had requested an audience of Scindia, went to have the appointed interview, he found the camp in confusion. A rumour of Lord Lake's approach was current, and neither Holkar nor Scindia had any idea of risking the consequences of his arrival: both were therefore preparing for a precipitate flight. They started on the 28th, and hastened up the right bank

of the Chumbul, taking the direction of Sheopoor. The difficulty of the road, the excessive heat, and the precipitation, made the march very disastrous, and great numbers of men perished. Sheopoor, when they reached it, did not seem distant enough, and after a halt of some days they started again southward for Kottah, a distance of about fifty miles. Mr. Jenkins was obliged to

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Continued detention of the British resident by Scindia



THE CITY OF KOTTAH, from the East.—From Todd's Rajasthan

accompany them. Lord Lake had not only expressly ordered him to quit the Mahratta camp, but had distinctly intimated to Scindia that the British government would hold him responsible in his own person, his ministers, and servants for the safe conveyance of the resident, with his attendants and property, to the nearest British camp. Notwithstanding this intimation, Mr Jenkins was still detained under various pretexts, which had ceased to have even the semblance of plausibility. Week after week having thus passed away without any prospect of release, at last, on the 17th of June, a kind of ultimatum was sent by Lord Lake to Scindia, declaring that if in ten days the resident were not allowed to quit the camp, it would be held equivalent to a dissolution of all friendly relations between the two governments. Evasions and professions of friendship, however, were once more received as substitutes for performance, and the resident was still virtually a prisoner in Scindia's camp, when, on the 30th of July, 1805, Marquis Wellesley ceased to be Governor-general of India

Termination of Marquis Wellesley's administration

Great as had been the achievements of Marquis Wellesley's administration, it had lost favour both with the directors and the ministry Conquests, however brilliant, failed to defray the expense which had been incurred in making them, and the debt of the Company had rapidly increased. This fact was to many, who still regarded the Company as merely a commercial body, sufficient to condemn any system of policy which failed to produce favourable financial results, and on this ground alone, without looking further, they were loud in their condemnation. Others, again, while admitting that in conducting the Indian government, mere pecuniary interests ought to be held subordinate

A D 1805.

Termination of Marquis Wellesley's administration.

to others of a higher order, were impressed with a belief that our Indian possessions were already larger than we could profitably manage, and that any extension of them was only an additional source of weakness. So general had this belief become, that with the consent of all political parties, it had been embodied in an act of parliament, which declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation." This declaration standing unrepealed, furnished a rule from which no governor-general could legally deviate, and yet it was undeniable that Marquis Wellesley, from the day he landed in India to the day he quitted it, had been constantly engaged, if not in "schemes of conquest," properly so called, at least in "extension of dominion." On the west and the east coast, in the south and the north, he had either extended dominion indirectly by depriving independent princes of their sovereign rights, or forcibly wrested their territories from them, and annexed them to the already overgrown territories of the Company. Tested by the legislative declaration, Lord Wellesley's measures could not be justified, since they were to all intents the very measures which the act of parliament had stigmatized as "repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation."

Its merits.

On the other hand, there is room to contend that Marquis Wellesley's policy was far wiser than that to which the legislature had restricted him. The system of neutrality had proved a broken reed. Marquis Cornwallis, when he tried to act upon it, found it impracticable, and without formally condemning it, admitted that it first tied up his hands, and then left him no alternative but to engage in war, without any previous preparation for it. Lord Teignmouth did act upon the system of neutrality, and what was the result? A cowardly, mean-spirited policy, which backed out of engagements when it became inconvenient to fulfil them, and made it a rule to lean always to the strongest side. Under this policy, the British reputation sank rapidly, and the Company were ere long left without an ally in whom any confidence could be placed. In striking contrast to this pusillanimous spirit, was that in which Marquis Wellesley commenced his administration and carried it on to the very end. He saw clearly that the British in India had advanced too far to recede, and that no alternative was left them but either to gain the whole or lose the whole. The idea of becoming stationary was an absurdity. If they did not advance, they must lay their account with being driven back. If they repudiated the empire placed within their reach, some other power would certainly seize it. Marquis Wellesley saw this from the first, and having made his choice in favour of dominion, pursued it on system with consummate ability and brilliant success. The legality, the wisdom, and even the justice of some of his measures are very questionable, but the House of Commons undoubtedly did right when, refusing to entertain the charge against him which a wretched

political adventurer had originated, it declared with reference to that charge, and by implication with reference to all others, that the Marquis Wellesley "had been actuated by an ardent zeal for the service of his country, and an ardent desire to promote the safety, interests, and prosperity of the British empire in India." A.D 1805.

CHAPTER IX.

Marquis of Cornwallis again governor general—His policy—His death—Sir George Barlow governor-general—His policy—Mutiny at Vellore—Lord William Bentinck governor, and Sir John Cradock, commander-in chief at Madras, recalled—Disputes as to the appointment of governor general—Sir George Barlow recalled by the king's sign manual.

DEVIATION from the restrictive policy enjoined by the legislature being regarded as the primary cause of the financial embarrassments of the Company, the directors naturally longed for a return to that policy, and the appointment of a new governor-general, who was at once inclined from conviction, and qualified by ability and experience, to carry it into full effect. The choice being thus limited, there was no difficulty in making it, and general satisfaction was felt at the announcement that Marquis Cornwallis had again consented to wield the destinies of India. His lordship, ever since his return, had been regarded as a high authority on Indian subjects Lord Castlereagh, who had become president of the Board of Control, frequently consulted him: his views were known to be decidedly opposed to all schemes of conquest, and he was therefore regarded as the individual best qualified to remedy the serious errors into which his predecessor was presumed to have fallen Of this his lordship himself seems to have been too easily persuaded. Referring to his second appointment, which, it will be remembered, he resigned hastily after every arrangement had been made for his departure, he had said,[1] "I am not sure that I acted wisely in declining to return in 1797" This declinature had led to the appointment of Marquis Wellesley, and was thus indirectly the cause of the evils which were supposed to have ensued. The moment, therefore, it was flatteringly suggested to him that it was in his power to remedy these evils, or, as it was expressed, to save the Indian empire, he never hesitated. What his views on the subject were may be learned from his correspondence. Mr Pitt, who had given way to Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth), was again at the head of the ministry, but from some offence which he had taken, had not given the Marquis Cornwallis governor general

[1] *Correspondence of Marquis Cornwallis*, vol. iii. p. 509.

A D 1805

Marquis Cornwallis governor general

marquis any place in it. Hence his lordship wrote, "I know nothing of public affairs, and with the exception of Lord Melville, who has behaved to me with his accustomed kindness, I have not been in the most distant manner noticed by the present administration." This was galling to his feelings, as he still deemed himself capable of good service. Hence, though he considered it a "desperate act to embark for India at the age of sixty-six," on being assured by Lord Castlereagh that Lord Wellesley "could not be suffered to remain in the government," and that Mr. Pitt, Lord Melville (Mr. Dundas), and himself (Lord C.), "were of opinion that it would be of the utmost advantage to this country" that he should become governor-general, he answered as follows:—"They might easily suppose that it was no pleasant undertaking for a man of my age, but as I had still good health, and felt myself, in times like the present, rather awkwardly circumstanced by being totally laid aside, I would not refuse any situation in which I thought I might be useful."

Course of action chalked out for him

Such were the circumstances under which Marquis Cornwallis again assumed the government of India. The nature of the services expected from him may be gathered from the above conversation with Lord Castlereagh, from which an extract has already been given. Mr. Pitt, according to Lord Castlereagh, "was decidedly of opinion that he (Marquis Wellesley) had acted most imprudently and illegally." So much was Marquis Cornwallis of the same opinion that he feared the mischief "had gone so far as to render it very difficult to apply a remedy." To this observation Lord Castlereagh replied, "that they were well aware that the subsidiary treaties could not at present be done away, but that it was highly necessary to bring back things to the state which the legislature had prescribed." The object gravely contemplated by the ministry, the court of directors, and the new governor-general, was to commence and carry out a retrograde process, with a view to the ultimate abandonment of the high position which had been gained by a lavish expenditure of blood and treasure, and the occupation of a subordinate, and by inevitable consequence, a precarious place among the governments of India. It is melancholy to see such a man as Marquis Cornwallis thus sent out to India to end his days and sully his reputation.

His penal inhuman proceedings.

The new governor-general arrived at Calcutta on the 29th of July, 1805, and though his predecessor was still present, lost no time in entering upon the government, for he was sworn in on the following day. Holding as before the united offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, he had the destiny of India in his hands, and was determined to make all haste in carrying out his plans. To Lord Lake, who had descended to the subordinate position of provincial commander-in-chief, he wrote on the very day of his instalment: "It is my earnest desire, if it should be possible, to put an end to this most unprofitable and ruinous warfare." He might have written more confidently, because he was determined to make peace at all events, and purchase it at any cost

however large. One is almost ashamed to add that he was willing for this purpose to make a sacrifice even of honour. In a letter to Lord Lake, acquainting him with the terms on which he was disposed to offer peace to Scindia, he says: "I am aware of the disadvantage of immediately relinquishing, or even of compromising, which has been so repeatedly and so urgently made for the release of the British resident; but I deem it proper to apprise your lordship that, as a mere point of honour, I am disposed to compromise or even to abandon that demand if it should ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with Dowlut Row Scindia; and that I have hitherto been induced to support it by the apprehension that the motives of such a concession might be misinterpreted, and that it might lead to demands on the part of Scindia with which we could not comply without a sacrifice of dignity and interest incompatible with our security, and thereby render still more difficult of attainment the desirable object of a general pacification."

A.D. 1805

Pusillanimous proceedings of Marquis Cornwallis.

According to this idea, so unlike that which Marquis Cornwallis was wont to entertain in better days, honour was to be abandoned or compromised, as an obstacle unworthy of standing in the way of "a satisfactory adjustment with Dowlut Row Scindia." Could anything be more monstrous? A Mahratta chief *who had not only violated a solemn treaty, but trampled on the laws* recognized by all states having any pretensions to civilization, by detaining, maltreating, and plundering an ambassador, was to be not punished but propitiated—not hunted down as a barbarian whom no faith could bind, but studied and courted, and scarcely even reminded of his atrocious procedure lest his delicate feelings should be offended. Security was everything, and it was to be obtained by truckling to an insolent and faithless man, who on finding how much he had gained by rebellion, would take the first opportunity of rebelling again in the hope of gaining still more. To imagine that peace could be secured by stooping to such degradation was, to say the least, a very gross delusion. Scindia would of course take all that misplaced indulgence could bestow upon him, but it would only be to employ it for the purpose of subsequent extortion, and to a certainty, the moment he felt strong enough, his former aggressions would be resumed. Fortunately the British government was spared the disgrace of making concessions to Scindia, while he was openly insulting it by detaining the resident as a prisoner in his camp. Lord Lake, on being made aware of the extreme degradation to which the governor-general was prepared to submit in pursuit of a vain phantom of peace, managed to draw the first overtures from Scindia, and to induce him to release the resident, by assuring him that until this was done, his overtures could not be favourably entertained. *By this dexterous move on the part of* Lord Lake, Mr Jenkins was on his way to the British territories, and the humiliation which the governor general was preparing for himself and his country was happily escaped.

Shameful concessions to Scindia

It would be painful and it is not necessary to dwell on all the other con-

A D 1805.

cessions which Marquis Cornwallis had declared his readiness to make while bent on obtaining peace at any price, since he was not destined to carry his intentions into effect. He had arrived in India in very indifferent health, and did not allow himself to take the ease and relaxation which might have restored it. The very day after his arrival at Calcutta he was immersed in all the cares and toils of office. A week afterwards he was on his way to the upper provinces to engage in negotiations, of the success of which, notwithstanding the generous or rather lavish spirit in which he was disposed to act, he was very doubtful. Though convinced of the propriety of the course he was taking, and not easily turned aside from his purpose when once it was formed, he could hardly be free from misgivings when he found his measures decidedly condemned by some of those who were best qualified to judge of them, and more especially by his old friend Lord Lake, who not only disapproved but threatened to resign. Thus perplexed and grieved his indisposition rapidly increased, and when he arrived at Buxar on the 25th of September, 1805, he was considered by his attendants as beyond hope of recovery. His voyage up the Ganges was however continued, and he lingered on in a state bordering on unconsciousness till he arrived at Ghazipoor, where he breathed his last on the 5th of October.

Death of Marquis Cornwallis

Character of his administration

The merits of his first Indian administration have already been examined; in regard to his second administration, Sir John Malcolm justly observes: "However questionable the policy of some of the last acts of this nobleman may be to many, or whatever may be their speculations upon the causes which produced such an apparent deviation from the high and unyielding spirit of his former administration, no man can doubt the exalted purity of the motive which led him to revisit that country. Loaded with years as he was with honour, he desired that his life should terminate as it had commenced; and he died as he had lived, in the active service of his country." The universal esteem in which he was held both at home and abroad was testified by the honours paid to his memory. A mausoleum was erected over his remains at Ghazipoor by public subscription; Bombay erected a statue, and Madras, which, as well as Calcutta, had already his statue, erected a cenotaph. At home the House of Commons voted a statue to him in St Paul's; and the court of proprietors, who had in 1794 settled upon him a pension, of which at his death about ten years were still to run, bore further testimony to his merits by a vote of £40,000 to his family.

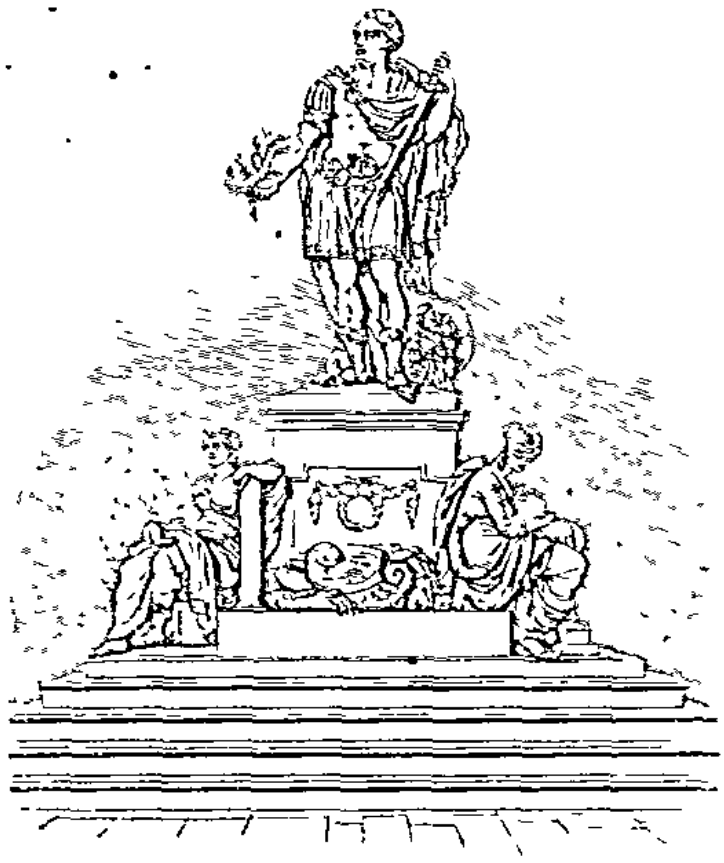
Sir George Barlow governor general

Sir George Barlow, an old and distinguished civil servant of the Company, succeeded by a provisional appointment to the office of governor-general. When the succession opened to him he had been four years a member of the supreme council. Previously he had been chief secretary to government during the whole of Lord Teignmouth's and the commencement of Marquis Wellesley's administrations. He had also been actively employed by Lord Cornwallis during his first administration, and had the credit of having furnished the original draft

of the code of regulations, in accordance with which the civil and judicial business of the Company had since been conducted. Judging from his previous antecedents, it was difficult to say what his policy would be. He had been connected with several administrations, and though the principles on which they acted were very different, he had the good fortune to give satisfaction to all. During the whole of Marquis Wellesley's administration, he had so uniformly and zealously supported it, that he was supposed to be finally pledged to the same system of policy, and hence, when Marquis Cornwallis, who had a high opinion of his merits, urged the propriety of giving him a provisional appointment as his successor, Lord Castlereagh, then at the head of the Board of Control, "did not," says the marquis, "give much encouragement on that head, intimating that the inveteracy of the court of directors against Lord W (Wellesley) had produced a disinclination in that quarter towards Barlow" He was made acquainted with the objection thus taken to him, and it is not improbable that he had taken care to remove it by satisfying the court that he was very pliable on the subject of policy, and was just as ready to support the restrictive system of Marquis Cornwallis, as he had previously been to support the extensionist system of Marquis Wellesley. Be this as it may, it is certain that the objection was withdrawn, and he not only obtained the provisional appointment, but rose so high in the favour of the directors that they afterwards made the appointment absolute.

A.D. 1805

Sir George Barlow governor-general



STATUE OF LORD CORNWALLIS,
By Bacon, erected in the Townhall, Calcutta, in 1813.

Brought into office under such auspices, Sir George Barlow immediately announced his determination to pursue the system of neutrality, and walk as much as possible in the footsteps of his predecessor. His plan was to terminate the war as speedily as possible by concluding treaties with Scindia and Holkar, in which the defensive or subsidiary principle would be altogether ignored, and to throw off all connection with the petty states beyond the Jumna, bounding the British territory by that river, or by a line nowhere exceeding ten miles

His system of neutrality

A D 1805. beyond it. Taking up the negotiation with Scindia on the basis which Marquis Cornwallis had adopted, he concluded a treaty with him on the 23d of November, 1805. Its principal articles were that the previous treaty of Surjee Ajengaom should remain in force, except in so far as altered—that the Company, from mere considerations of friendship, would cede to Scindia the fortress of Gwalior and certain parts of Gohud—that Scindia would abandon all claim to the pensions payable by the Company to certain officers of his court, the Company, however, paying the arrears upon these pensions up to the 31st of December, 1805, and the balance due upon some territorial revenues, but only under deduction of certain claims, one of which was the plunder of the British residency—that the Chumbul, between Kottah on the west, and the eastern frontiers of Gohud, should form the boundary between the two states, Scindia having no claims to any territory between these two points to the north of the river, and the Company in like manner, and within the same limits, having no claim to any territory to the south of the river—that the Company would pay to Scindia annually the sum of four lacs, besides granting two jaghires of their territories in Hindoostan, the one of two lacs to Scindia's wife, and the other of one lac to his daughter, and would moreover engage to enter into no treaties with the Rajahs of Odeypoor, Joudpoor, and Kottah, or other chiefs, tributaries of Scindia in Malwah, Mewar, or Marwar, nor interfere in any shape with Scindia in settling with these chiefs. The Company further engaged that, in the event of their making peace with Holkar, they would not restore, nor desire to be restored to him any of the possessions of the Holkar family in Malwah taken by Scindia, but leave Scindia at liberty to arrange with Holkar or any branch of the Holkar family, in any way he pleased. This treaty, negotiated by Colonel Malcolm acting under the authority of Lord Lake, did not receive the entire approval of the governor-general. The new policy which he was to carry out assumed that the interest and security of the British possessions would be best provided for by limiting the relations with surrounding states to general amity without special engagements, and he therefore objected to those articles which, by fixing the Chumbul as the boundary, implied that the petty states immediately north of that river were to continue under British protection. So averse was he to any such implied guarantee, that he insisted on appending to the treaty two declaratory articles, for the express purpose of withdrawing it, and leaving the petty states to protect themselves as they best could. Lord Lake had already strongly protested against this policy, and again made a last effort to convince the governor-general that, while the breach of faith committed by such an abandonment of allies would lower the British reputation and produce general distrust, the distractions and wars which would necessarily ensue would sooner or later compel the Company to interfere, and involve them in new hostilities for the purpose of regaining the ascendency, which they were now by a kind of suicidal act voluntarily relinquishing. Sir George

Treaty concluded by Sir George Barlow with Scindia.

Declaratory articles appended to the treaty

Barlow could not answer Lord Lake's arguments, but he persisted in his own course, or rather, perhaps, the course which he knew that the home authorities expected from him. A.D. 1805

Holkar sues for peace.

Pending the negotiations with Scindia, Lord Lake was in pursuit of Holkar, who had proceeded northward into the Punjab, in the hope of obtaining assistance from the Sikhs. When he failed in this object, Holkar saw that further resistance was hopeless, and sent envoys to Lord Lake to solicit peace. The terms were easily arranged, as Holkar was not in a condition to withhold assent from any proposals that might be made to him, and those who had him at their mercy were disposed to treat him with a liberality which he little deserved, and which must have gone far beyond his expectations. The conditions offered to his acceptance gave him back all his territories, with a few exceptions, of which the most important were, that he should renounce all claims to places situated north of the Chumbul, to Kooch and Bundelcund, and generally all claims whatever upon the British government and its allies. Chandore, Gaulnah, and his other forts and districts in the Deccan, were not restored; but he was assured of their restoration in the course of eighteen months, provided his conduct in the interval were such as to give full proof of his amicable intentions.

Treaty with him.

Both into Scindia's and Holkar's treaty an article was introduced, binding them not to admit Sirjee Row Ghatka to their counsels or service. The individual thus placed under the ban was the father-in-law of Scindia, and was not only a man of a cruel and worthless character, but an inveterate enemy to the British, and the instigator to the plunder of the British residency. Notwithstanding the stipulation against him, he was understood to be preparing, a few months afterwards, to join Holkar; and Sir George Barlow, fearing the embarrassment which might hence arise, carried his peace policy so far as to cancel the article in the treaties which stipulated for Sirjee Row Ghatka's exclusion. He accordingly resumed his mischievous influence at Scindia's court. His fate is not unworthy of being recorded. In 1809, while attending the durbar, he had pressed some of his proposals, and was answered evasively by Scindia, who, to escape his importunity, ordered his equipage for the purpose of going to an elephant fight. Sirjee Row, enraged, so far forgot himself as to seize Scindia's robe, and try to keep him forcibly in his seat. The attendants rushed to the rescue, and were ordered by Scindia to secure the offender. A scuffle ensued, and Sirjee Row, drawing his sword, escaped to his own tent. The attendants enraged, and not unwilling to rid their master of an obnoxious minister, pursued, cut the ropes of the tent, and dragged him into the public street, where he fell dead, pierced with wounds.

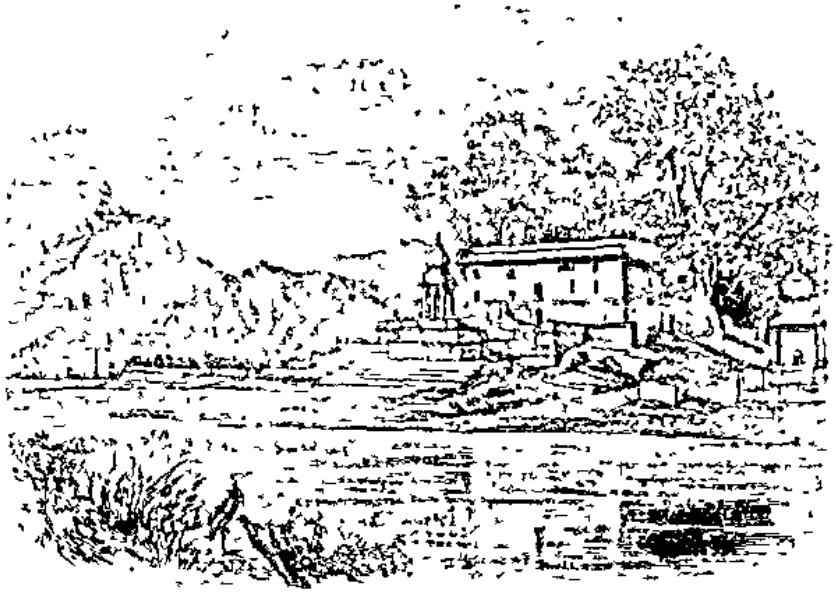
Fate of Sirjee Row Ghatka.

The article in Holkar's treaty which bound him to renounce all claims to places north of the Chumbul was at variance with the new policy, but was at first sanctioned by the governor-general, because he was *in hopes that Tonk* Rampoorah and its district to the north of that river would be accepted by

A D 1805

Scindia as an equivalent for the pension of four lacs which the Company had engaged to pay him On finding that Scindia would not accept Tonk Rampoorah, even as a gratuity, because it would bring him into necessary collision with Holkar, Sir George Barlow gave full effect to his policy by making a present to Holkar of Tonk Rampoorah, and leaving the British allies, as was

Mean-spirited policy of governor general



View near Tonk.—From Grindlay, Scenery of Western India

already done in the treaty of Scindia, to Holkar's mercy. This he did while forewarned and perfectly aware that these allies would be subjected to cruel persecution, and that mainly as a punishment for adhering steadfastly to British interests, when they might have gained much by betraying them. A proceeding more unworthy of British honour and equity cannot easily be imagined. How humbling and yet how true the remark made by an agent of one of the abandoned rajahs, that now, for the first time since the establishment of the English government in India, "it had been known to make its faith subservient to its convenience!"

Interposition of Lord Lake

The alliances with the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Boondee having been shamefully abandoned, the next step in the retrograde policy would have been to deal out the same measure to the Rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor On the part of the governor-general there would have been no delay, but Lord Lake interposed once more, and pointed out so forcibly the confusion and anarchy into which countries recently settled at the expense of so much blood and treasure would inevitably be thrown, that even Sir George Barlow, with all his obstinacy, hesitated to proceed in the face of such a remonstrance. At first, while declaring that his resolution was unchanged, he simply intimated that he had no desire to precipitate the measure, but second thoughts proved better than his first, and he never again attempted to carry it into effect.

While engaged in making arrangements in Hindoostan, the attention of the governor-general was arrested by a sudden and unsuspected outbreak in a very different quarter. At three in the morning of the 10th of July, 1806, a sudden discharge of firearms was heard in the fort of Vellore, which, it will be remembered, had been fixed upon as the residence of the family of Tippoo on their removal from Seringapatam. The discharge was repeated in various quarters, and on inquiry being made, it was ascertained that the sepoys of the garrison, headed by their native officers, were in open revolt. They had assembled secretly, and on an appointed signal attacked the European posts. The few sentinels on duty had been shot down or bayoneted, and the magazine containing the only supply of ammunition was in the hands of the insurgents. The European part of the garrison, consisting of four companies of his majesty's 69th regiment, mustered about 370 men, that of the natives 1500. The main body of the mutineers, having set watches on the apartments of the officers to prevent egress, beset the European barracks, and with a six-pounder, which they had planted opposite to the doorway, and their muskets, commenced firing volley after volley through the doors and windows. The soldiers within, destitute of ammunition, were unable to return this murderous fire, and had no alternative but to shelter themselves as they best could behind the beds and furniture. At an early hour a few officers who had assembled in one of the dwellings and successfully defended themselves, made their way into the barracks. Here eighty-two privates had already fallen, and ninety-one were wounded. Nor was this the full amount of the loss. Colonel Fancourt, who commanded the fort, had been mortally wounded as he was descending from his house; Colonel M'Kerras shot dead as he was hastening to the parade; and, during an indiscriminate massacre by parties who searched the houses of Europeans, and with savage ferocity butchered every one they could discover, thirteen officers were killed. The officers who had reached the barracks, heading the survivors whom they found within them, sallied forth, and forcing a passage through the mutineers, ascended the ramparts and took post in a cavalier. From this they proceeded to the magazine, but being disappointed in their expectation of ammunition, were obliged to retrace their steps and seek cover above the main gateway, and in the bastion at the south-east angle. All these movements had been made under exposure to an incessant fire, and the consequence was, that every officer was disabled, and many of the men were killed.

A D 1806

Mutiny of Vellore

Indiscriminate massacre of Europeans

At Arcot, about sixteen miles eastward, intelligence of the revolt was received at six in the morning, and Colonel Gillespie, who was there in command, hastened off with a squadron of the 19th dragoons and a troop of native cavalry, ordering the rest of the regiment and the galloper-guns to follow. By eight o'clock he arrived, and immediately passed through the two outer gates, which were open. The third gate was closed. It was, however, the one above in

A.D 1806. which part of the European soldiers had taken shelter; and a rope having been formed of soldiers' belts, Colonel Gillespie was enabled to mount and take his place beside them. As soon as the guns arrived, the gate was blown open and the dragoons rushed through. Colonel Gillespie at the same moment charged the insurgents at the head of his small party, and a signal vengeance was

Mutiny of Vellore suppressed



Gateway at Vellore.—From drawing in the M Kenzie Collection, East India House

taken After a feeble and straggling fire, all resistance ceased. About 400 of the mutineers were slain, not a few threw down their arms imploring quarter, and many who had escaped through the sally-port, or by dropping from the walls, were afterwards captured. The recovery of the fort and suppression of the mutiny were the work of little more than ten minutes.

Members of Tippoo Saiub's family implicated

During the insurrection an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace in which Tippoo's family resided. A flag which once belonged to Tippoo and bore his arms (a central sun with tiger stripes on a green field), was even brought out and hoisted on the flagstaff, amid the acclamations of the multitude As there could thus be little doubt that at least some members of the family were deeply implicated, Colonel Gillespie lost no time in sending off the whole of them to Madras, from which they were ultimately removed to Calcutta. It was reported that but for these decisive measures, the insurgents would in a few days have been joined from different quarters by 50,000 men. Three native officers and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates, condemned by a court-martial on the spot, suffered death These were selected for extreme punishment from being regarded as ringleaders; but it was generally suspected, though legal proof was not obtained, that the whole of the native troops, with only a few exceptions, were privy to the plot. Under these circumstances it was difficult to draw a line of demarcation, and the utmost that could be done was to allow the officers and men who were absent at the time, or proved their fidelity, to remain in the service, and not

only dismiss all the others, but erase the very names of the mutinous regiments from the army lists. About 600 sepoys retained as prisoners still remained to be disposed of. As the final decision was not given till a considerable period had elapsed, a lenient course was preferred, and, with the exception of those who, *being proved guilty of plunder or murder, suffered according to their* deserts, all the others were simply dismissed the service, and disabled from again entering it. A.D. 1808

Punishment of the mutineers

When a strict inquiry into the circumstances and causes of the mutiny was instituted, it appeared that had ordinary caution and judgment been used it might not have occurred at all, or at all events could not have broken out so suddenly and unexpectedly. To make this manifest it will be necessary to enter a little into detail. When Sir John Cradock (afterwards *Lord Howden*) in the beginning of 1805 became commander-in-chief at Madras, he found that this presidency had no code of military regulations. With the permission of Lord William Bentinck, who had succeeded Lord Clive as governor, he instructed Major Pearce, the deputy adjutant-general, to draw up a code. According to Sir John's statement, the regulations previously in force and sanctioned by the government were to be simply inserted in the manuscript, while everything that was new was to be carefully distinguished, so as to make it easy for the governor to perceive at a glance what the changes were to which his sanction was requested. Lord William Bentinck, confiding in the strict accuracy of this statement, gave his whole attention to the marked regulations, as in these alone he conceived that he had any immediate interest, and discovering nothing objectionable, allowed all the regulations to be put in force. Unfortunately, from some strange oversight, a regulation which was entirely new—so new, indeed, that it had never before appeared in any military code—was inserted in the body of the old regulations without any distinguishing mark, and thus eluded the governor's notice. The object was to assimilate the appearance of the sepoys to that of the European troops. The most obnoxious of these changes were, that the sepoys should appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and their mustachios cut to a particular model, and not only without earrings, but without the coloured marks which declared the particular sects to which they belonged. Their turban also was changed into a form which seemed to the sepoys to resemble a hat. This was to them an abomination, as they were wont to regard the hat as peculiarly an European, and therefore a Christian head dress.

Origin of the mutiny

Injudicious changes in the dress of the sepoys.

The feeling of discontent and insubordination thus engendered was *first* manifested early in May, by the second battalion of the 4th regiment of Madras infantry, quartered at Vellore. The grenadier company refused to make up the turban, and on being called before the colonel and questioned on the subject, declared firmly but respectfully that they could not wear the new turban without disgracing themselves for ever in the eyes of their countrymen

A D 1806

Injudicious change in the dress of the sepoys

This seems ludicrous, and yet when it is considered how much commotion the subject of man millinery has produced, and is producing, in one of the most enlightened churches of Christendom, it is impossible to deride the honest scruples of the childish and ignorant sepoy. Such, unfortunately, was not the spirit in which his superiors were disposed to deal with him, and his scruples were regarded and treated as contumacy. Nineteen grenadiers were sent off to Madras for trial. They were all convicted, and two of them actually received 900 lashes each. The remaining seventeen, who were each to have received 500 lashes, were pardoned on professing contrition. The governor, who could formerly have pleaded that he had unconsciously sanctioned the new dress, could not use this plea any longer, as he showed himself no less zealous for it than the commander-in-chief, and proclaimed his determination to enforce it.

Absurd pertinacity of the authorities

In justification of the course thus pursued, it was shown that the new turban, or hat, as the sepoys insisted on calling it, was not objectionable either in itself or on the score of religion, and two respectable natives, a Mahometan and Hindoo, when gravely consulted, gave solemn testimony to this effect But this was not the question. However absurd and unreasonable the scruple might be, was it felt in reality, instead of being used as a mere pretext for insubordination? The moment this question was answered in the affirmative, turbaned hats and shaved chins and clipped mustachios were condemned, and became fit only for the limbo of vanity. It is not impossible that the fear of corporal punishment or of expulsion from the service might ultimately have proved stronger than the scruple, and compelled the sepoy's submission, but in Vellore he was subjected to other influences, and there were parties on the alert to turn his scruples to account. Tippoo's family had never forgotten that their father and grandfather had been sovereigns of Mysore, and it was proved that when insubordination had begun to take root, and secret meetings were held Moiz-ad-din, one of his sons, attended, and both directly, and by means of real or pretended messages from the palace, encouraged the mutineers.

Real causes of the mutiny

The Vellore mutiny was occasioned by the absurd attempt to force an obnoxious dress on the sepoys, and it was fostered by the adherents of Tippoo's family, who snatched at the disaffection thus produced as a means of again becoming a reigning dynasty, but it had its primary cause in the deep-rooted hatred of Mahometans and Hindoos to the rule of a Christian nation. It is this hatred which, always lurking in the heart of the native, is ready to break forth on the slightest encouragement or provocation, that makes every outbreak of the natives against Europeans a war of extermination What but this hatred actuated the wretches who, while the Vellore mutiny was raging, went about in bands to search the houses of Europeans, and massacre all their inmates! On ordinary occasions this hatred is not manifested, and the natives, balancing the advantages which they enjoy under British rule against the mischief which they would inevitably suffer under native dynasties, are not

disposed to run the risk of violent changes. It is only when their fanaticism is aroused by some imaginary insult to their faith, or the fear of being forcibly compelled to abandon it, that all prudential restraints are thrown aside, and nothing but the utter extermination of the hated race will either allay their fears or satiate their vengeance. Assuming this representation to be correct, some have hastily inferred that in India Christianity ought to be altogether ignored, or at least that no European ought ever to be allowed to make it the subject either of conversation or of argument in the presence of a native. It would, indeed, be a melancholy thing if the inference were well founded. But it is not. Persuasion enforced by pure Christian example is as potent in India as in any other part of the world, and many distinguished men, with nothing else to recommend them, have been and still are loved and venerated, even by those who have no sympathy with their doctrines. The thing to be guarded against is the reality or semblance of compulsion in any matter in which religion is supposed to be concerned, and more especially compulsion in which the government directly bears a part. "It is a great error," says Professor Wilson,[1] "to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindoo or Mahometan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to encounter adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed amongst them, and especially amongst the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox system. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the Sipahis on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence and bloodshed. The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the British government and its Indian subjects remains unaltered."

A.D. 1806

Causes of Vellore mutiny

The propagation of Christianity not justly chargeable

It has been mentioned that the mutiny took the European part of the garrison entirely by surprise. This ought not to have been. The previous insubordination had shown the necessity of increased vigilance. Though it had been forcibly suppressed, there was every reason to apprehend that the scruples in which it originated had not been removed. On the contrary, the presumption was that the usual result, whenever force and conviction are brought into collision, had been produced, and that feelings which could no longer find vent

[1] *The History of British India from* 1805 *to* 1835, vol. i. p. 140-142.

A.D. 1806

by external acts, had only become more deeply seated within. These considerations appear to have been altogether lost upon the officers in command. At the very time when rumours of disturbance were prevalent in the town and fort, and a Mahometan fakir had repeatedly proclaimed in the bazaar the impending destruction of the Europeans, no means were used to trace these rumours to their source, and even the ordinary duties of the garrison were performed with culpable remissness. On the very night of the mutiny the European officer commanding the main-guard, when called to go the rounds at midnight, pleaded indisposition, and ordered the subahdar (native captain) to take his place The subahdar, likewise indisposed, sent the jemadar (native lieutenant), who being one of the ringleaders of the mutiny, of course reported that all was right, though the mutineers must at the time have been actually arming. A still more extraordinary degree of remissness had been previously displayed. Nearly a month before the mutiny broke out, a sepoy named Mustafa Beg waited at midnight on his colonel, and divulged the plot. That officer, partly from ignorance of the native language, which made it difficult for him to interpret accurately all that he was told, and partly also from Mustafa Beg's agitation, which made him give little credit to his testimony, left the investigation to a committee of native officers, in other words, to the conspirators themselves, who at once declared Mustafa Beg unworthy of belief, and demanded that his calumnies should be punished by imprisonment. He was, in consequence, expiating in a dungeon the supposed falsehood of his testimony, at the very time when its truth was only too fully established by the event.

Want of vigilance on the part of the European garrison of Vellore

General alarm produced by the mutiny

It was for some time believed that the mutiny at Vellore had extensive ramifications, and was, in fact, only part of a general conspiracy to massacre all the Europeans in India, and thereby for ever extinguish British rule. The events of our own day give to this hypothesis a degree of plausibility which it did not previously possess, but still it does not seem to be borne out by facts. Insubordination was certainly manifested simultaneously in distant quarters. This, however, indicates rather a common ground of complaint than an extensively ramified conspiracy. At Hyderabad, for instance, the turban produced great dissatisfaction among the sepoys of the subsidiary force, and some designing men endeavoured to make it subservient to their own designs. Had the European officers in command been as careless and intemperate as those at Vellore, another dreadful mutiny would in all probability have been the result. A much more judicious course was taken, and all dissatisfaction vanished the moment the cause which had produced it was removed. As soon as the aversion to the new turbans was manifested, the order for making them up was suspended. The effect was instantaneous, and calm and confidence were at once restored. This could not have been, had the objection to the turbans been taken, not on its own account, but with a view to the furtherance of a widely and deeply laid conspiracy.

The only important events which occurred during the administration of Sir George Barlow have now been mentioned. In his foreign policy, his main object seems to have been to establish himself in the good graces of the directors, by rigidly adhering to the course which he knew would be most pleasing to them. In so doing he proved himself at once an obedient servant, and a very indifferent statesman, throwing away great advantages, which it was necessary, at a later period under a better administration, to regain by a new expenditure of blood and treasure, and at the same time lowering the British reputation with *foreign states, by quibbling away solemn obligations, and sacrificing* honour and justice to fancied convenience. In his internal administration he appears to greater advantage. Under Marquis Wellesley's administration, expensive wars were not met by the ordinary revenue, and the debt which had been accumulated had caused severe financial pressure. So severely was this felt when Marquis Cornwallis entered upon his second administration, that in order to pay arrears which could no longer be delayed, and discharge other urgent demands, he was obliged to appropriate all the bullion which was sent out from England for the China investment. In a letter written to the directors, on the third day after his arrival at Calcutta, he says, "The pressure on your finances is so severe, that had the bullion sent out in the ships of the present season *been withheld, I know not how our difficulties could have been overcome.*" Lord Lake's army, the monthly pay of which was about five lacs, was about five months in arrear. A large body of irregulars, composed chiefly of deserters from the enemy, had been engaged at a monthly expenditure of about six lacs, and were also in arrear. With the reduction of this force, as at once the most burdensome and least effective, Marquis Cornwallis immediately commenced, and during the few months of his administration made considerable progress in diminishing the monthly charge. Sir George Barlow continued the process, and was able to reduce still more largely and rapidly, by the steps which he took to force a general pacification. There is, indeed, some reason for suspecting that his reductions were in some instances more rapid than judicious, and that by suddenly throwing loose upon the country numbers of men who lived only by their sword, he laid a foundation for future disturbance. While carrying on the work of retrenchment in Bengal, he called upon the other presidencies "to establish a system of the most rigid economy through every branch of their civil and military expenditure," and "to abrogate all such charges as were not indispensable to the good government and security of the provinces under their control." By means of a system of economy carefully matured and fully carried out, the excess of expenditure above revenue rapidly diminished, and ultimately —though he did not continue in office so long as to see this result—not only disappeared altogether, but left a surplus.

A.D. 1805

Character of Sir George Barlow's administration.

Financial pressure.

How met

A governor-general who produced such favourable financial results, and showed himself ready at all times to give implicit obedience to orders received

A.D 1806

Sir George Barlow superseded

from home, was naturally a favourite at the India House. As soon as the death of Marquis Cornwallis was known in England, the directors made his provisional appointment absolute, and he was thus regarded as no longer a governor-general by sufferance, in consequence of an unexpected vacancy, but as formally installed in the usual way and for the usual period. The new ministry, which had been formed on the death of Mr. Pitt, was understood to have acquiesced in this permanent appointment. The commission to Sir George Barlow as Governor-general of India was signed on the 25th of February, 1806 How great, then, was the astonishment when, on the 7th of March, only ten days afterwards, the directors were informed by Lord Minto, president of the Board of Control, that ministers had determined to supersede Sir George Barlow, and confer the office of governor-general on the Earl of Lauderdale. A quarrel immediately ensued. The directors, charging the ministers with gross inconsistency in first sanctioning or rather expressly recommending Sir George Barlow's appointment, and then trying to cancel it, refused to recall him. The conduct of the ministers was, they said, insulting both to them and to Sir George Barlow, and they refused to be dragged through the mire for the purpose of enabling ministers to complete any job on which they might have set their fancy. Lord Minto, through whom the correspondence with the directors was conducted, endeavoured to justify himself and his colleagues by replying that, in the letter in which he recommended Sir George Barlow, he distinctly intimated that the arrangement was to be regarded as merely temporary. This proved to be a very lame defence, as the letter as distinctly stated that there was no intention to make any immediate change. The truth is that the real point in dispute was not fairly put by either party. Ministers had rashly parted with a valuable piece of patronage, which they were now anxious to recover, and some of the leading members of the cabinet preferred the policy of Marquis Wellesley to that which Sir George Barlow was pursuing. The directors, on the other hand, not only preferred Sir George Barlow's policy, but had an invincible aversion to the Earl of Lauderdale. He was a free trader, in the limited sense given to these words at that period, and would do all he could to break up the Company's monopoly It would therefore be suicidal to make him governor-general Another objection, not quite so tangible, but probably regarded by some of the directors, was the Earl of Lauderdale's extreme liberalism, which led him, during the first fervour of the French revolution, to affect it even in his dress When the quarrel between the directors and the ministers was at its height, Sir George Barlow was recalled by a warrant under the king's sign-manual. This stretch of authority, though it had been threatened before, was on this occasion exercised for the first time, and gave a practical solution to a question which had hitherto been rather evaded than answered. The question was, In which of the two—the court of directors and the government—was the power of appointing the Governor-general of India really vested?

Quarrel thus produced between the directors and the government

A.D. 1806.

By Mr. Pitt's India act of 1784 (24 Geo. III. c. 25), and by the act of 1793 (33 Geo. III. c. 52), renewing the Company's charter, it was expressly enacted that "all vacancies happening in the office of governor-general" were to be "supplied by the court of directors." Mr. Fox's East India bill had been severely censured for the amount of patronage which it would have placed at the disposal of ministers, and Mr. Pitt seemed to have introduced the above clause for the purpose of escaping a similar censure. Had the clause stood alone it would have left the patronage entirely in the hands of the directors, and enabled them to exercise it without control. This was certainly not the intention of ministers, and they dexterously managed while disclaiming patronage to introduce clauses which virtually gave them a monopoly of it. The above clause enacted that the vacancies were to be supplied by the directors; but by two subsequent clauses his majesty, on the failure of the directors to supply a vacancy within two months after it was notified to them, might fill it up, and might, moreover, at any time by his sign-manual, countersigned by the president of the Board of Control, "remove or recall any person or persons holding any office, employment, or commission, civil or military, under the said United Company in India." By means of one clause the directors appointed; by another his majesty, or, which is the same thing, his ministers, might recall every appointment as soon as it was made; and by a third, should the directors, wearied out in making unavailing appointments, leave the vacancy unsupplied for two months, ministers were rewarded for obstructing them by obtaining the patronage to themselves.

Question as to appointment of governor-general.

There cannot be a doubt that an honest interpretation of the above clauses gave the directors the appointment, and the ministers nothing more than a veto —a veto, too, to be exercised not antecedent to the appointment, but subsequent to it, and not tyrannically or capriciously, but on grounds which could be stated and substantiated. Now in the present instance ministers could not possibly have any such grounds. Sir George Barlow owed his appointment to their recommendation, and therefore when they attempted to supersede him, only ten days after the appointment was made, they were precluded from saying that he was unworthy of it. What then? They were determined to usurp the patronage which their predecessors had disclaimed, and which the legislature had expressly denied them, and to this unworthy purpose they prostituted the sign-manual. In arriving at this conclusion we have looked merely at the statutes, and endeavoured to give fair effect to their meaning. The appointment by the directors was to be the rule, and the recall by ministers the exception. It is easy to imagine cases in which a governor-general might be supported by directors merely as a thorn in the sides of a ministry, or from other motives equally unworthy, and in which such an extreme measure as the use of the sign-manual might be not only justifiable but imperative. The present, however, was no such case, and ministers, though they remained within the

Final decision.

A D 1807

letter of the law, violated its spirit by perverting the powers conferred upon them to a purpose for which they never were intended. Had the directors met ministers in their own spirit, they were not without the means of maintaining a protracted struggle. They had the sole right of appointment, and might have baffled ministers with their own weapons by appointing as often as they recalled. They acted more wisely by submitting to a compromise. Sir George Barlow, descending from his elevation, was permitted to hope that he would be restored to it on the next vacancy, and condescended to console himself in the meantime by accepting the subordinate office of governor of Madras; the Earl of Lauderdale found employment which interfered less with his jacobinical predilections than the Indian appointment would have done; and Lord Minto exchanged the office of president of the Board of Control for that of Governor-general of India.

Lord Minto appointed governor general

CHAPTER X.

Lord Minto governor-general—Disturbances in Bundelcund—Arrangements with the Nizam—Embassies to Scinde, Cabool, and Persia—Mutiny at Madras—Disturbances in Travancore—Capture of the French and Dutch islands—Misgovernment of Oude—Revenue and judicial systems—The ryotwar settlement—Riot at Benares—The Bengal missionaries—Discussions on the Company's charter—Close of Lord Minto's administration

ON the 3d of July, 1807, Lord Minto reached Calcutta. He was not new to Indian affairs. For many years, when Sir Gilbert Elliot, he had taken a prominent part in parliament, and strenuously supported the policy of the Whigs in regard to eastern politics. He was one of the managers appointed by the House of Commons to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and made the abortive motion for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. On the accession of his party to power his antecedents marked him out for the important office of president of the Board of Control, and when the repugnance of the directors to the Earl of Lauderdale could not be overcome, the known moderation of his views united the suffrages of both parties in his favour, and thus terminated what had always been an unseemly, and might ere long have become a most pernicious quarrel. His leaning was decidedly in favour of the restrictive system of policy; and his desire to keep on good terms with the directors and proprietors, who had formally and strongly declared their approval of this system, must have confirmed him in his determination to adhere to it; but he could not shut his eyes to some of its inconveniences, and he was not so wedded to it as to be unable to abandon it when it threatened to be mischievous.

His antecedents

A. D. 1807.

One of the first subjects which engaged his attention was the condition of Bundelcund. It had not, like some other territories, been gifted away as not worth the keeping, but on the principle of non-interference had been so much neglected that it was rapidly approaching to a state of anarchy. With the view of at once avoiding trouble and expense, and conciliating good-will, the petty rajahs were left as much as possible to self-management, and the consequence was, that they were soon involved in interminable quarrels with each other, and bands of armed marauders roamed the province in every direction. Lord Minto had no difficulty in determining to put an end to this state of misrule; and he therefore announced that, wherever mild measures had failed to secure tranquillity, force to any extent that might be necessary might be employed In many cases this announcement proved of itself sufficient, and many disputes were settled at once by the voluntary consent of the parties to submit them to British arbitration It could not be expected, however, that lawless banditti, who knew that they had no rights but those which the sword had given them, would yield to anything but compulsion, and it therefore became necessary, as the first step to their expulsion, to obtain possession of the strongholds of the leading chiefs by whom they were countenanced and protected One of the most notorious of these was Lakshman Dawa He was originally the captain of a band of plunderers, and had succeeded in possessing himself of the fort of Ajagerh. He had no kind of legal title to it, but when it became British territory an arrangement had been made

Disturbances in Bundelcund



EARL OF MINTO.
After a portrait by G Chinnery, painted at Calcutta.



FORT OF AJAGERH —From Pogson's History of the Bundelas

Lakshman Dawa

the new sovereign, Secunder Jah, though his succession without opposition was owing entirely to British support, had forgotten the obligation and become inimical to British interests. The interests involved, however, were too important to be disposed of by a kind of hap-hazard, and Sir George, after pausing, proved the soundness of his judgment at the expense of his consistency, by deciding that the subsidiary alliance, and all the rights under it, were to be firmly maintained. Fortunately his decision was powerfully seconded by the prime minister, Meer Allum, and the ruin in which the Nizam would have involved himself by his folly in provoking hostilities was prevented. Still, however, a powerful party hostile to British interests existed at Hyderabad, and Meer Allum, threatened with assassination, was driven to seek shelter with the resident. Under these circumstances the resident was instructed to adopt the most energetic measures. The Nizam, made aware that his deposition might be deemed the only effectual guarantee for good behaviour, became thoroughly alarmed, and readily acquiesced in conditions which pledged him to dismiss every person hostile to the British alliance, to reinstate Meer Allum, and in the event of any difference with him to submit it to the resident. Such was the state to which Secunder Jah's imbecile and dissolute character had reduced his government, that his chief favourite and adviser, Mahiput Ram, refused to be dismissed, and successfully resisted for a time by force of arms.

A.D. 1809.

Relations of the British with the Nizam.

Meer Allum, who had nearly succeeded in replacing the relations with the Nizam on their former footing, died at an advanced age on the 8th of January, 1809. The appointment of a successor, after causing some difficulty, was settled by a compromise. Monir-ul-Mulk, as the Nizam's choice, was appointed, but to remedy his acknowledged incompetency, the real administration was intrusted to an able Hindoo of the name of Chandu Lal, who had served under Meer Allum, and imbibed his spirit. This arrangement, though perhaps the best which circumstances permitted Lord Minto to make, did not work well. Monir-ul-Mulk thought himself entitled, as well as qualified, to possess the reality along with the name of power, and a series of intrigues were carried on, in consequence of which the interference of the resident was constantly required in support of Chandu Lal. The governor-general would probably have interfered still more effectually had he not been unwilling to run counter to the views of the directors. In a despatch dated September 14th, 1808, they had inculcated the necessity of carefully abstaining from all concern with the internal affairs of Hyderabad, further than might be necessary in organizing the Nizam's army. To this object, accordingly, the governor-general's views were almost exclusively directed, and a regular army in consequence sprung up, disciplined by British officers, and subordinate to British interests. Chandu Lal, as dewan, implicitly acquiesced in everything which the resident proposed relative to the appointment of officers, and the pay and equipment of the troops, and was in turn protected in his office, and left uncontrolled in the internal government.

Unsatisfactory character of his administration

themselves to be the peishwa's feudatories, and relinquishing all acknowledged usurpations, were guaranteed in the possession of their lands. To these terms Bajee Row was obliged to submit, but he did it with visible reluctance, and showed that feelings were rankling in his breast which might be expected sooner or later to display themselves in overt acts of hostility. A.D 1809

Relations with Holkar

During Lord Minto's administration, a few unsettled points in the treaty with Scindia were amicably adjusted, and no part of his conduct was considered to give any just cause of complaint, except the countenance given by him to some bands of Pindarees, whose indiscriminate ravages were already becoming intolerable. Holkar's conduct was less pacific, but however hostile his designs may have been, he was not permitted to execute them. He had long been addicted to intoxication and unrestrained indulgence, which had seriously affected his health, and he had recently, in order to establish himself as undisputed head of the Holkar family, poisoned his nephew, and been at least accessory to the murder of his brother. After these crimes, the stingings of conscience and new excesses for the purpose of stifling remorse overthrew his reason. During a few months his madness alternated with lucid intervals, but at last he sank into a state of complete fatuity. For three years he was fed and treated like an infant, and died on the 20th of October, 1811. When he became insane, the management of affairs was usurped by his favourite mistress, Toolasi Bhai, who employed Balaram Seit as her minister. In such feeble hands the whole country soon became a scene of confusion, and leaders, aiming at independence or bent on plunder, started up in various quarters. One of the most formidable combinations was headed by Mahipat Row Holkar, first cousin of the Jeswunt Row, who was proclaimed his successor, and might have made his right good, had not the depredations of his followers, extended into the territories of the peishwa and the Nizam, brought him into collision with the subsidiary forces of both these states. The one force advancing from Poonah under Colonel Wallace, and the other from Jalna under Colonel Doveton, gave him two successive defeats which completely ruined his cause.

His insanity

Ameer Khan

Ameer Khan, who had long shared Holkar's fortunes, might have been expected to take a prominent part in the changes occasioned by his insanity. At first a large bribe from Balaram Seit induced him to give his support to the Bhai, but as he had a large number of troops in his own pay, and had no means of supporting them except by depredations, he soon took his departure and made an irruption into Berar. He had previously pillaged the Rajpoots, and knowing that their resources were completely exhausted, he saw no territories so tempting as those of Ragojee Bhonsla. He was not without a pretext. Jeswunt Row Holkar, when, during the disasters of his early career, he sought an asylum at Nagpore, was said to have been ungenerously pillaged by the rajah of valuable jewels. Ameer Khan, acting in Holkar's name, demanded

A D 1809

restoration of the jewels or their value in money. On receiving a refusal, he made his appearance in January, 1809, on the frontiers of Berar, at the head of a force amounting, according to his own statement, to 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindarees or robber bands. Meeting with no serious opposition, he crossed the Nerbudda and made himself master of Jubbulpore and the surrounding country.

Ameer Khan.

The Rajah of Berar had no subsidiary alliance with the British, nor any treaty under which he was entitled to claim their protection, and therefore, on the principle of non-interference, he ought to have been left to his fate. There were also serious obstacles to be surmounted before any assistance could be given to him. Ameer Khan professed to be acting in the name of Holkar, and in this character could plead that any assistance given by the British government to the rajah would be a violation of the treaty by which they had engaged not to interfere in any manner whatever with Holkar's affairs, nor with his exaction of claims on any state with which they themselves were not actually in alliance. It was not easy to answer this objection Ameer Khan's pretext of being in the service of Holkar could be easily disposed of, but how was it possible, consistent with the policy on which the Indian government was now professedly conducted, to take part in the quarrels of native princes when not under any positive obligation to do so? Lord Minto, though aware of the inconsistency, refused to be trammeled by it, and placed the question on broader grounds than those of any routine of policy, when he said in a minute, lodged 10th October, 1809: "The question was not whether it was just and expedient to aid the rajah in the defence and recovery of his dominions (although in point of policy the essential change in the political state of India which would be occasioned by the extinction of one of the substantive powers of the Deccan might warrant and require our interference), but whether an interfering and ambitious Mussulman chief, at the head of a numerous army, irresistible by any power but that of the Company, shall be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the rajah's dominions, over territories contiguous to those of our ally the Nizam." Considering the encouragement which would thereby be given to projects probably entertained by the Nizam himself, and certainly entertained by a powerful party in his dominions, "for the subversion of the British alliance," his lordship held that there could be "but one solution" of the above question, and therefore decided that Ameer Khan must at all hazards be repelled. Gratuitous assistance was therefore immediately tendered to the rajah, and provided by assembling a body of troops on the eastern frontier of Berar, under Colonel Close, and ordering another stationed in Bundelcund under Colonel Martindale to be prepared to co-operate with it. The rajah, though he had not formally applied for assistance, gladly accepted it, more especially when assured that no compensation either pecuniary or territorial was expected.

Relations of the British with the Rajah of Berar

Assistance furnished to repel Ameer Khan.

As soon as Colonel Close was ready to act, Lord Minto wrote both to

Holkar and to Ameer Khan; to the former asking whether the invasion of Berar was by his order, and to the latter, simply requiring him to withdraw. Holkar's minister disavowed Ameer Khan's proceedings, but Ameer Khan himself denied the right of the British to interfere with his proceedings, and threatened to retaliate by invading their own territories. The rajah in the meantime had exerted himself to the utmost, and raised a force which had successfully encountered Ameer Khan, and obliged him to take refuge in Bhopaul. Here having been reinforced, he had again entered Berar, and sustained a second repulse, when the approach of Colonel Close left him no alternative but flight. He hastened off to Seronge, his own capital, and on being followed, abandoned his own troops and made the best of his way to Indore. As there was now no danger of an incursion into Berar, Lord Minto, who had at one time intended completely to destroy Ameer Khan's power, took fright at the protracted hostilities which might ensue, and ordered the British troops to be recalled. To provide against the recurrence of a similar danger, the governor-general entered into a negotiation with the rajah, with a view to furnish him with a permanent subsidiary force. The negotiation, protracted by the rajah's repugnance to the force itself, and still more by his unwillingness to pay for it, did not lead to any satisfactory result.

A.D. 1809

Invasion of the Rajah of Berar's territories by Ameer Khan.

Lord Minto's interference in the case of Berar was a practical proof of his disapprobation of the extent to which the neutral system of policy had been carried by his predecessor. He had previously given a still more decided proof by the part which he had taken in regard to some disturbances in the north-west. The reduction of the fort of Ajagerh, in Bundelcund, and the fate of the family of Lakshman Dawa, its petty chief, have already been described. Though the vigorous measures taken induced several of the other chiefs to make their submission, there were some against whom it was still necessary to employ force. One of these was Gopal Sing, who had usurped the district of Kotra. The legal heir was Rajah Bakht Sing, whose title had been formally recognized by Sir George Barlow, but more in mockery than in good faith, since, on the principle of non-interference, he was denied the assistance necessary to make it effectual. Lord Minto, acting in a different spirit, sent a detachment to put him in possession, and Gopal Sing, apparently convinced that resistance was hopeless, did not even attempt it. He was too restless a spirit to be long tranquil, and abruptly quitting the British camp, to which he had come to make his submission, he retired with a few followers to the thickets of the neighbouring hills, and commenced a predatory warfare. Before he could be effectually checked, the removal of the force under Colonel Martindale from Bundelcund to Berar towards the end of 1809, for the purpose of acting against Ameer Khan, left Gopal Sing at liberty to pursue his depredations, and the whole country below the hills was remorselessly devastated. Various detachments were sent in pursuit of him, and at last, after he had eluded

British interference with native states

Proceedings against Gopal Sing

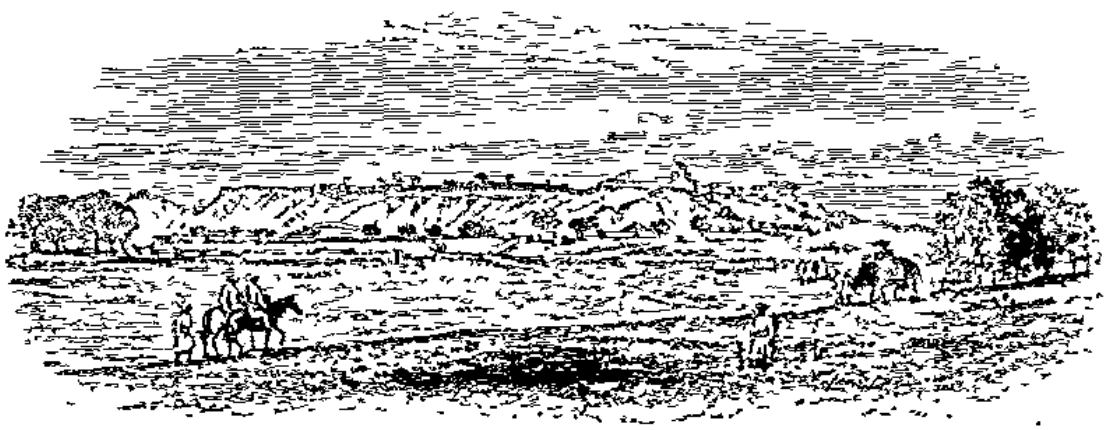
A. D. 1809

Treaty with Gopal Sing

pursuit and carried off large quantities of plunder, he was surprised in an entrenched position among the hills. With the utmost difficulty he made his escape and recommenced his warfare. Again and again his capture was confidently predicted, but never realized; and he was ultimately able, instead of meeting the fate which he had deserved, to make terms with his pursuers. Besides a full pardon for four years of devastation, he received a jaghire of eighteen villages. It is difficult to understand the policy of an arrangement, the obvious tendency of which was not to repress, but to encourage depredation.

Proceedings against Dariao Sing.

Another chief remained, and kept frowning from his fort, which, in common with his Bundela countrymen, he deemed impregnable. His name was Dariao Sing, and his fort was Kalinjer, situated 112 miles south-west from Allahabad. This place, which figures much in the early history of India, and still by its fabled sanctity attracts numerous pilgrims, crowns an isolated hill which rises from a marshy plain to the height of 900 feet, and terminates in a flat area



Kalinjer, in Bundelcund, from the East.—From the M'Kenzie Drawings, East India House

His fort of Kalinjer

about four miles in circuit. The lower sides of the hill were covered with almost impenetrable jungle; the upper part of it was a naked precipice. Where not absolutely inaccessible by nature, artificial means had been employed to make it so. The whole of the flat summit was inclosed by a strong wall with loop-holes and embrasures, and the only ascent to it was by a winding road, commencing at the south-eastern angle, where the pettah was situated, and winding along the eastern face. This road was defended by seven fortified gates. Dariao Sing, confident that this stronghold could not be wrested from him, not only resisted the British authority, but was ever ready to give protection to all the predatory bands that applied for it, and it was therefore vain to hope that till he was dispossessed there could be any permanent tranquillity in Bundelcund. This fact Lord Lake had brought distinctly under the notice of Sir George Barlow, but no heed was given to it, and a well-known nucleus of disturbance remained untouched till the beginning of 1812, when Colonel

Martindale advanced against Kalinjer at the head of a considerable force which had assembled at Banda. A.D 1812.

Against the north-east extremity of Kalinjer, at the distance of about 800 yards, rises another hill called Kalinjari, of much less extent but nearly as elevated. This was obviously the point from which the attack ought to be made, and accordingly on the 26th of January, after great difficulty in clearing a path through the jungle, four eighteen-pounders and two mortars were dragged up by main force and planted on its top. Lower down, other two batteries were mounted, one of them opposite to the great gateway. Fire was opened on the 28th, and the breach having been reported practicable on the 1st of February, the assault was given at sunrise on the following morning. The storming party with great difficulty arrived within fifty yards of the breach, and after a short halt, under cover of an old wall, rushed forward to the foot of the parapet. Here an unexpected obstacle arrested them. Before the breach could be entered, it was necessary to scale the almost precipitous rock on which the demolished wall had stood, and as fast as ladders could be applied for this purpose, the men who endeavoured to ascend by them were shot down by crowds of matchlock-men or overwhelmed by heavy stones. Unequal as the conflict was, it was maintained by the assailants with the utmost gallantry for above half an hour before they were recalled. The loss, though severe, was not unavailing, for Dariao Sing, convinced by what he had seen that the fort was not so impregnable as he had imagined, chose rather than risk a second assault, to capitulate on the terms which he had previously rejected. The fort, after being used a short time as a military post, was dismantled and abandoned. After the reduction of Kalinjer, the tranquillity of Bundelcund was completed by obliging the Rajah of Rewa, a small principality adjoining it on the east, to enter into a treaty which, while it guaranteed his own territory, restrained him from disturbing or countenancing those who disturbed the territories of his neighbours. Capture of fort of Kalinjer

Another district in which Lord Minto found it necessary to interfere by force in order to secure tranquillity was Hariana, lying immediately to the west of Delhi. Its Jat inhabitants, having thrown off their allegiance to the Mogul, became divided into a number of petty clans, which, though occasionally uniting to oppose a common enemy, were usually so much distracted by intestine feuds as to be incapable of a protracted struggle for independence. They were hence subject for the most part to military adventurers, of whom the most remarkable was George Thomas, an Irish sailor. Shortly after his arrival at Madras in 1781, he deserted and took service with some of the southern polygars. Leaving them, he proceeded through the heart of India and reached Delhi in 1787. The Begum Sumroo gave him a commission in her brigade, and he stood high in her favour, till some other adventurer supplanted him. In 1792 he entered the service of one of Scindia's discarded captains, who Military adventurers in Hariana.

A D 1807.

Changes of rulers in Hariana

died in 1797, after establishing an independency to the west of Delhi. At his death, the newly-formed state fell to pieces, and George Thomas seized the opportunity to make himself a rajah. He succeeded, and during four years reigned in his capital of Hansi, over a territory 100 miles long from north to south, and at its widest part 75 miles broad. Scindia, pursuing his conquests in Hindoostan, sent Perron to besiege him in his capital, and he surrendered on condition of being conducted to the British frontier. He arrived at it in January, 1802, and was on his way to Calcutta to embark for his native land, when he was taken ill and died at Berhampore. Hariana passed to the British during the war with Scindia, and during the rage which prevailed for throwing away provinces was given away to several successive chiefs. As they were unable to keep it, it again became a British possession, but remained in such an unsettled state as to endanger the tranquillity of Delhi itself. Lord Minto saw its value, and after a short struggle with its turbulent tribes, succeeded in withdrawing them from lawless pursuits, and inducing them to become peaceful agriculturists.

Progress of Runjeet Sing.

Proceeding still farther north, Lord Minto ventured on a bolder step than any he had yet taken. The Sikhs living on the left or east bank of the Sutlej had, at the termination of the Mahratta war, professed submission to the British It was nominally accepted without being defined. Neither was tribute paid nor protection promised; and the known determination of the government to retire from their conquests gave countenance to the belief that any native chief who could establish his ascendency over this portion of the Sikh territory was welcome to do so The celebrated Sikh chief, Runjeet Sing, had gained the ascendant over all competitors, and being thus brought to the right bank of the Sutlej, saw the tempting prospect which lay beyond it. Before committing himself, however, he proceeded to feel his way, and did not venture to cross till he could plead that he had received an invitation. It was not necessary to wait long for this purpose. During a quarrel between the Rajahs of Patiala and Naba, the latter applied to him for aid. He at once granted it, and crossing the Sutlej in October, 1806, with a strong body of horse, obliged the contending parties to submit to his dictation. His presence did not pass unnoticed at Delhi, but any apprehensions which were felt were removed by a letter professing profound respect for the British government, and he departed with the conviction that whenever it might suit him to return, he had nothing to fear from the only power capable of resisting him. His experiment had thus succeeded, and as might have been anticipated, he was not long of turning it to practical account.

In the course of 1807 a feud broke out in the family of the Rajah of Patiala His wife being refused an assignment of revenue to her son, carried her displeasure so far as to send for Runjeet Sing. He lost no time in again crossing the Sutlej. This repetition of the visit spread alarm among the Sikh

chiefs, who considered themselves as British subjects, and they applied urgently to the resident at Delhi for protection against the designs of their countryman. The application was forwarded to Calcutta, but before an answer could be received, the Rajah and Ranee of Patiala had settled their quarrel, and purchased Runjeet Sing's departure by a valuable diamond necklace, and a celebrated brass gun. Before departing, however, he gave the petty rajahs full proof of the treatment they might expect by levying contributions on them, or by seizing their forts, and confiscating their lands. Shortly after his return he addressed a letter to the governor-general, in which, while professing friendly dispositions, he asked why a British force was assembling on the Jumna, and added, "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so." Lord Minto, instead of fully answering by letter, resolved on sending a mission to Lahore. Mr. Metcalfe, whose subsequent services made him successively a baronet and a peer, set out from Delhi in 1808 as envoy to Runjeet Sing, and after crossing the Sutlej, found him in his camp at Kasur or Kussoor. His reception, at first friendly, changed its character as soon as Runjeet Sing learned that the British government refused to accept the Jumna as the boundary between the two states Openly testifying his dissatisfaction, he did not hesitate to give the strongest practical proof of it by suddenly crossing the Sutlej, with the envoy in his train, and proceeding to exercise sovereign rights within the disputed territory. Mr. Metcalfe refused to proceed any further in that direction, and Runjeet Sing was under the necessity of retracing his steps to Amritsur, where the other members of the mission had been left The negotiation did not open favourably. On being informed that he must resign all the conquests which he had made on the left bank of the Sutlej since the period when the Sikhs there had been taken under British protection, he seemed so determined on an appeal to arms that a detachment under Colonel Ochterlony proceeded across the Jumna to Lodiana, while a larger force under General St. Leger was prepared to follow. Runjeet Sing, now convinced that the governor-general was in earnest, abandoned his dreams of conquest, and on the 25th of April, 1809, a treaty was concluded, by which the Rajah of Lahore agreed not to maintain more troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than necessary for the internal management of the territories there acknowledged to belong to him, nor to make any encroachment on the protected Sikh rajahs, and the British agreed not to interfere in any way with his territories in the north of the river. In connection with this treaty it became necessary more exactly to define the relation between the British government and the protected chiefs, and it was formally announced that Sirhind and Malwah had been taken under British protection, and that the chiefs, though not subjected to tribute, nor interfered with in regard to internal management, would be expected, when called upon, to join the British army with their forces. At a

A.D. 1809

Expedition of Runjeet Sing across the Sutlej

British interference

Treaty with Runjeet Sing

A.D 1809. later period it was explained that the declaration as to internal management did not preclude British interposition whenever it might be necessary to settle disputes among the rajahs, or suppress domestic dissensions.

Disturbance at Delhi

At the time when the above treaty was concluded with Runjeet Sing, a serious disturbance broke out at Delhi. Shah Alum, as already mentioned, died on the 18th of December, 1806, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who took the title of Shah Akbar II. The new monarch, not yet reconciled to the reduced fortunes of his family, made several attempts to break through the limits which the British, now his masters, had prescribed for him. On only one occasion, however, did Lord Minto find it necessary to interfere decidedly. Shah Akbar had several sons. The eldest had naturally the best title to the designation of heir-apparent; but the mother of the third son, Mirza Jehangir, being the favourite queen, intrigued in his behalf, and induced the king to take certain steps which indicated a design to give him the succession. When the British government interfered, Mirza Jehangir began to act for himself, and by means of a body of armed retainers kept the palace in a state of alarm. A body of the Company's sepoys began in consequence, with the king's consent, to mount guard at the palace gates. The prince's retainers immediately took up a menacing position within, and when the resident, Mr. Seton, advanced to expostulate with them, he was fired at, and made a very narrow escape, a ball evidently intended for him having struck the cap of a sepoy at his side. On this the inner gates were forced, the retainers dispersed, and the prince himself sent off as prisoner to spend the remainder of his life in the fort of Allahabad. From this time Shah Akbar resigned himself to his fate, and his pension of 76,500 rupees a month, which had only been promised conditionally by Marquis Wellesley, was confirmed by Lord Minto, and subsequently increased till it reached its maximum of £150,000 per annum



The King's Palace, Delhi
From the Hon C. S Hardinge's Recollections of India.

Narrow escape of the British resident

The propriety of concluding a treaty with Runjeet Sing had been partly suggested by the supposed designs of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte against the British dominions in the East To the same cause are to be ascribed the three important missions which Lord Minto despatched about this time to

Persia, Cabool, and Scinde. The embassy to Persia, intrusted for the second time to Sir John Malcolm, was mainly designed to counteract the influence which the French had succeeded in establishing at the Persian court. So important did this object seem to the British ministry, that they too had despatched Sir Harford Jones on a similar errand. This double embassy was unfortunate. Lord Minto protested against the embassy of the ministry as an interference with his prerogative, and several measures were adopted, as much with a view to maintain this prerogative as from any practical benefit anticipated from them. Sir John Malcolm, who had the start of his competitor, arrived at Bushire, but he returned to recommend the immediate preparation of a hostile armament for the Persian Gulf. Sir Harford Jones followed, and had succeeded in concluding a preliminary treaty, when a letter from Lord Minto to the court of Teheran arrived, disavowing his character as an ambassador. Ultimately, however, his preliminary treaty was ratified by the governor-general, and Sir John Malcolm returned, under his auspices, to perfect the negotiation. He arrived at Teheran in June, 1810, but quitted it without accomplishing anything, on being made acquainted with the approach of Sir Gore Ouseley as the accredited ambassador of the British court.

A.D. 1809

Embassy to Persia.

The embassy to Cabool was intrusted to Mr. Elphinstone, and fitted out so as to impress the Afghans with a high idea of the British power and dignity. Little was known either of the country or the government, and the chief value derived from the mission consisted in the full and accurate information furnished with regard to both, in the excellent work which Mr Elphinstone published after his return. Zemaun Shah, who had excited the apprehension of successive governors-general, had ceased to reign, having been deposed and blinded by his brother Mahmood, who had usurped his throne Mahmood was not permitted to profit long by his usurpation, and was obliged to give way to another brother, who took the title of Shah Shuja. He had held the nominal sovereignty for five years, and was still in possession of the sovereignty when Mr. Elphinstone, after a long and perilous journey across the deserts of Bikaneer and Jessulmeer, arrived at Peshawer on the 5th of March, 1809. He met with a friendly reception, and would have had no difficulty in concluding an offensive and defensive alliance; but when he declined this, and showed that the only object aimed at was the protection of British interests, without any reciprocal advantage, Shah Shuja demurred, and became more difficult to deal with. Ultimately, however, he agreed to a treaty by which he was to oppose the French and Persians in any attempt to cross Afghanistan on their way to India, and was to be defrayed the expense which he might thus incur This treaty was ratified at Calcutta on the 19th of June, 1809, but when returned to Peshawer was absolutely worthless. Civil war was raging—Mr. Elphinstone had left the capital to await the restoration of tranquillity, and Shah Shuja was fleeing before his enemies. A pecuniary grant which he

Embassy to Cabool

A.D. 1809

urgently solicited, and Mr. Elphinstone strongly recommended, might have enabled him to regain the ascendency, but Napoleon's reverses, and the restoration of the Bourbons, having removed all fear of French influence in the East, the grant was refused, and friendly intercourse with the Afghans was no longer courted.

Embassy to Scinde.

The third embassy was to Scinde. The Company had, with a view to commercial privileges, repeatedly attempted to establish friendly relations with Hyderabad, the name of the capital of Scinde, as well as that of the Nizam's dominions, but their overtures had been coldly, and even insolently repelled. Political changes had, however, produced a change of inclination; and three brothers, Gholam Ali, Karam Ali, and Murad Ali, who, as the principal chiefs or Ameers of Scinde, jointly administered its affairs, became anxious for British protection, as a security against the threatened ascendency of Persia. On their own proposal to renew the commercial intercourse, which at an early period had been carried on by means of a factory at Tatta, Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Hyderabad, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance. The terms, however, pledged the Company further than was thought expedient; and hence, while the ratification was withheld, Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith was deputed to explain the cause and restrict the stipulations. After many obstructions, to which the Ameers themselves were suspected of being privy, Mr. Smith reached Hyderabad on the 8th of August, 1809, and on the 23d concluded a treaty stipulating eternal friendship, the mutual appointment of ambassadors, and the exclusion of the French. This last object, which had long been regarded as of primary moment, had in consequence of Napoleon's reverses become unimportant, and the treaty therefore remained almost inoperative.

Dissensions at Madras

While the governor-general was thus endeavouring to extend friendly relations with neighbouring states on the north and west, occurrences of an alarming character took place within the presidency of Madras. Sir George Barlow, when deprived unceremoniously of the office of governor-general, succeeded Lord William Bentinck, who had been as unceremoniously recalled from Madras. He entered upon the duties of his office in the end of December, 1807. His appointment was by no means popular. As he belonged to a different presidency he was considered an intruder; and as he had proved himself in Bengal to be a resolute financial reformer, a very powerful party, whom such reform would seriously affect, were disposed to view all his proceedings with suspicion, and use every means in their power to thwart them. Under such circumstances it would have been difficult for any governor, however conciliating, to have made himself popular, and Sir George Barlow, so far from being conciliating, was of a stiff, dogged temper, which provoked opposition by unnecessarily defying it. The mutiny which took place in the Madras army is by far the most important event in Sir George Barlow's government;

A.D. 1809. the 15th of January the encounter took place. The attack was made by the dewan, and maintained for five hours, at the end of which he was driven from the field with considerable loss.

Disturbances in Travancore suppressed.

After this repulse Vailoo Tambi, despairing of success at Quilon, hastened off to Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with only two companies of the 12th regiment, and six companies of native infantry. The insurgents advanced to the attack in three masses, each 1000 strong, and were again repulsed. Meanwhile reinforcements were arriving. Colonel Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, entered the province of Cochin from the north with his majesty's 80th regiment, and two native battalions; Colonel St. Leger was marching from Trichinopoly with his majesty's 69th regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, three native battalions, and a detachment of royal artillery, and was, moreover, to be joined by a Kaffre regiment expected from Ceylon. Colonel St. Leger directed his march through the province of Tinnevelly, determined to force his way into Travancore, across the mountain range by which the Western Ghauts are continued to Cape Comorin. For this purpose it was necessary to diverge far to the south, as in that direction the most practicable passes are situated. The one which he selected was the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, which leads westward across the mountains by the highroad from Palamkota. This pass was defended by formidable lines, and as Colonel St. Leger had no battering train, the task which he had undertaken was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was accomplished however by a well-managed surprise, and the British troops began on the 17th of February to advance in the direction of Trivandrum, the Travancore capital. Colonel Chalmers was also advancing upon it from the opposite direction, while Colonel Cuppage, who had crossed the northern frontier, was continuing his march southward without opposition. All resistance now ceased, and it only remained to dictate to the rajah such terms as seemed necessary to prevent the recurrence of similar insurrections. The dewan had in the meanwhile fled, and being abandoned by his master, who, as a proof of his zeal for the British interests, despatched various parties in search of him, was driven at last to take refuge in the pagoda of Bhagwadi. Though venerated as a sanctuary, his Hindoo pursuers did not hesitate to force it. The dewan was found expiring of wounds, apparently self-inflicted; his brother who was with him was taken to Quilon and hanged. There cannot be a doubt that both brothers richly deserved their fate. Vailoo Tambi in particular had atrociously murdered Mr. Hume, a British surgeon, to whose professional services he had at one time been indebted, and thirty-four soldiers of the 12th regiment whom he had entrapped into his custody, and was, moreover, accused of having put to death in cold blood 3000 native Christians, charged with no crime but their religion. His dead body was carried to Trivandrum and exposed upon a gibbet. This proceeding, though said to have been the act of the rajah, was strongly censured by the governor-general, who held that the

Death of Vailoo Tambi and his brother

A.D. 1809. naturally unpalatable to the army, and a strong inclination was therefore felt of seizing upon any pretext which would afford an opportunity of giving open and formal utterance to dissatisfaction. The desire thus entertained was ere long gratified. Among the retrenchments was the abolition of what was called the "Tent Contract," under which officers in command of native troops received a monthly allowance for providing the men with suitable camp equipage This allowance did not vary with the nature of the service, but was fixed in its amount, and payable alike in cantonments and in the field, in peace and in war. Sir John Cradock, by whom this retrenchment was originally suggested, had instructed Colonel John Monro, the quartermaster-general, to report on its practicability, and the best mode of effecting it. The report entered fully into the subject, and placed the objections to the tent contract in so clear a light as to make it impossible to doubt the propriety of abolishing it. Sir John Cradock, Lord William Bentinck, and the Bengal government were perfectly at one on the subject, and held that the retrenchment ought forthwith to be made. The task, of course, devolved on Sir George Barlow as governor, and to this extent only was he responsible.

Retrenchments in Madras army

Discontent of the European officers

The officers whose emoluments were affected were not much disposed to grapple with the subject on its merits. The objections were obviously unanswerable, but it was discovered that the mode of stating them was not very guarded. There were passages in the report which, when brought into juxtaposition, might be construed not merely as hypothetical objections to the tent contract, but as specific charges against the officers who had profited by it. Colonel Monro set out with stating that "six years' experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage of the army, and an attentive examination of its operation during that period of time, had suggested the objections." One of these objections was as follows:—"By granting the same allowances in peace and war for the equipment of native corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than in peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another—it makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducement to neglect their most important duties." Here, then, argued the officers, are two distinct statements In the one Colonel Monro points out a dereliction of duty which the tent contract tends to produce, and in the other he gives it as the result of his own experience that this dereliction of duty has actually taken place. This charge he must either prove, or be punished as a calumniator. Colonel Monro now disclaimed all intention of insinuating anything against the honour and integrity of the officers of the army. This would not do. They had clearly been charged with gross and corrupt neglect of duty, and they called upon the commander-in-chief to bring Colonel Monro to a court-martial for aspersions on their characters as officers and gentlemen.

A.D 1809.

Collision between Madras government and commander in chief

power, by issuing a general order, in which he severely reprimanded Colonel Monro for appealing to the civil government, and declared that nothing but his immediate departure prevented him from bringing him to trial for disobedience of orders, contempt of military authority, and disrespect to the commander-in-chief. Hitherto the conduct of the government had been firm, but temperate. The only part of their conduct which admitted of question was their refusal to transmit the memorial of the officers to the directors. Now, however, they were about to take a step which placed them decidedly in the wrong, and in fact exhibited them as the imitators of General Macdowall's violence. Not satisfied with replying to his general order, by issuing a government order couched in language as unbecoming as his own, they proceeded to suspend from the Company's service Major Boles, the deputy adjutant-general, and Colonel Capper, the adjutant-general, the former because he had signed and circulated the general order, and the latter because, though absent at the time, he avowed himself responsible for the conduct of his deputy. Nothing could be more absurd and inconsistent than this procedure on the part of the government. Colonel Monro and Major Boles stood to all intents in the same position. They acted ministerially in obedience to the command of their superiors, and were therefore entitled equally to protection. Government, however, instead of dispensing justice with an even hand, protected the one and punished the other. They thus descended from the vantage ground on which they had previously stood, and became, instead of impartial judges, mere partizans. According to their new doctrine, an officer acting in obedience to orders was yet liable to punishment, if he did not refuse to obey when the orders given might happen to be illegal. If so, the subordinate, when called to act ministerially, is entitled for his own safety to sit in judgment on his superior, and to refuse obedience whenever he can satisfy himself that his superior has erred. This doctrine, if acted upon, would soon make sad havoc with military discipline. It were easy, *indeed, to put extreme cases in which the subordinate might be bound* to disobey. He might be ordered, for instance, to betray his trust, or commit some other manifest crime. As a general rule, however, his only duty is to obey without incurring the least responsibility. It is probably true that Major Boles, in signing and circulating the general order, displayed not only obedience but zeal. Still, in point of form, he was an irresponsible servant, and the government went far astray when they endeavoured to fasten upon him a different character.

Serious errors on both sides

The pernicious results of the course on which the government had now entered soon became apparent. Major Boles was regarded by his fellow-officers as a persecuted man, and as the cause in which he had been made a martyr was theirs, they not only presented addresses to him approving of his conduct and denouncing his sentence, but commenced a subscription to compensate him for his pecuniary loss. The struggle between the government and the army had

A D 1809

all past proceedings. This paper was signed by all the officers, except those on the staff, and to give effect to it, a joint movement from Jaulna and Hyderabad on Madras was actually projected.

Open mutiny at Masulipatam

At Masulipatam, the natural result to which the prevailing disaffection inevitably tended was realized, and an act of open mutiny was committed by the European regiment quartered there. The officers had borne their full share in the general discontent, and at a convivial meeting had drank toasts and uttered sentiments, on which their commanding officer had animadverted with some severity. The privates also had some grievances, one of which was their being occasionally drafted as marines to serve in the ships of war in the Bay of Bengal. Hence, when three companies were ordered for marine duty they refused, and the officers taking part in the mutiny arrested their colonel, instituted a committee of managing officers, and opened a correspondence with disaffected divisions at Hyderabad, and in other quarters. Colonel Malcolm, who was at Madras preparing for his Persian mission, was despatched to Masulipatam, and after various attempts to restore order and subordination, returned to report his conviction that nothing but a revocation of the government order would suffice to prevent a general and fatal insurrection. This concession would have been as fatal as insurrection could have been, and Sir George Barlow did wisely in repudiating it. He had undoubtedly committed serious blunders, but none so serious as that which he would have committed had he yielded to the counsels of those who would have escaped from a present mutiny, by placing his neck beneath the foot of the mutineers, and thus destroying all future discipline. As the contest seemed now inevitable, he took his measures with the utmost promptitude and vigour, and struck terror into the mutineers, by showing them plainly what now awaited them. His majesty's troops were firm to a man; the native troops, when made aware of the fate which their officers were preparing for them, would pause before committing themselves to hostilities with the government, on whom their pay and pensions absolutely depended and not a few of the officers, having been pushed farther than they ever meant to go, were desirous to recede.

Decision shown by Sir George Barlow

Employment of a test

In order to ascertain the relative proportions of well-affected and disaffected officers, and take the necessary steps for the removal of the latter, recourse was had to the very questionable device of employing a test. A paper in this form was accordingly drawn up, and copies of it were sent to the commanding officers of stations, with instructions to require the signatures of their officers to it. Those who refused to sign were to be removed from their regiments to stations on the coast, and remain there till better times might allow of their being again employed. At the same time, the native officers were made acquainted with the points in dispute, and instructed to acquaint the sepoys that the complaints of the European officers were entirely personal, and that their own position and emoluments, if they remained faithful, would

not be in the least affected. The Company's troops were also so stationed as to be kept in check by his majesty's regiments. All of these measures were very successful except the test, which, on account of the suspicion which it was supposed to imply, was very obnoxious, and was refused by many of whose loyalty there could be no doubt According to the returns, of 1300 officers on the strength of the Madras army, only 150 signed. A.D. 1809. Futile application of the test

The officers generally, perceiving the hopelessness of the struggle which they had provoked, and not only alarmed at the penal consequences, but also, it is to be charitably presumed, ashamed at the loss of character which they had sustained by their violent and unsoldierlike conduct, began to make their submission; but there were two localities in which the mutinous spirit could not be exorcised without coercive measures. At Seringapatam the European officers, on learning that they were to be separated from their native soldiers, broke out at once into open rebellion. After compelling a small body of his majesty's troops to quit the fort, they seized the public treasure, drew up the bridges, and placed themselves in an attitude of defiance. A detachment, consisting of the 25th dragoons and one of his majesty's regiments of infantry, together with a regiment of native cavalry and a native battalion, hastened under Colonel Gibbs to Seringapatam. Meanwhile two native battalions were on their way from Chitteldroog to join the garrison. Some Mysorean horse were sent out to intercept them, but no serious obstacle to their progress was *Mutiny at Seringapatam suppressed.*

A.D. 1809

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VIEW OF CHITTELDROOG, 1803.—From drawing in the M'Kenzie Collection, East India House

opposed till they arrived within sight of the fort, when seeing the dragoons approaching to encounter them, they took fright, broke, and dispersed. Most of them, however, by means of a demonstration in their favour from the fort, managed to escape into it, though not without a loss of nearly 200 in killed and wounded. During the night the garrison cannonaded the British encampment, and compelled its removal to a greater distance, but this was the last act

A.D. 1809. of hostility on which the mutineers ventured. Afterwards, on learning how gloomy their prospects were, they hastened to make their submission.

Outbreak at Hyderabad suppressed

The only other locality in which an obstinate resistance was threatened was Hyderabad. When the demonstration there was at its height, it was deemed advisable to send for Colonel Close, the resident at Poonah, whose popularity



View of Poonah, from the River.—From the M'Kenzie Drawings, East India House

with the sepoys might, it was supposed, be turned to good account. He arrived on the 3d of August, 1809, and after making his way with some difficulty into the cantonments, succeeded so little by expostulation, that, under some apprehension of personal restraint, he withdrew to the residency to await further instructions. As soon as he withdrew, the committee of officers sent for the divisions at Jaulna and in the Northern Circars. The troops at the former place, at once obeying the summons, made two marches in advance, and those in the Circars were preparing to take the field, when the views of the officers of Hyderabad underwent a change, which they themselves, in a penitential letter to the governor-general, attributed to a kind of sudden conversion, though there is reason to suspect that they were influenced as much by fear as by genuine repentance. All their blustering and violence thus ended in abject humiliation. They signed the test, and began to preach submission by sending to the different stations of the army a circular in which they entreated their brother officers to lose no time in following their example.

Final suppression of the mutiny

On the 11th of September, 1809, Lord Minto arrived at Madras, and was gratified to find the mutiny already quelled. His decided reprobation of the conduct of the mutineers, and his general concurrence with the views of Sir George Barlow were well known, but still, from his known moderation and leniency, much was expected which it would have been vain to expect from the sternness and almost vindictive severity of the governor of Madras. General

Macdowall, in some respects the greatest culprit of all, was already beyond the reach of human punishment, the vessel in which he sailed and all on board of her having perished at sea. Other culprits however remained, whose misdeeds could not be passed over. These were officers in command of stations or of separate corps, and officers who had made themselves conspicuous for activity and violence. Only three of the one class and eighteen of the other were selected, the former to be tried by court-martial, and the latter to be at their option either tried in like manner or dismissed. The proceedings of the home authorities with reference to the mutiny may be briefly stated. In the House of Commons papers were called for, but no motion was founded on them. In the court of directors the conduct of Sir George Barlow was generally approved, with two important exceptions—the one, the suspension of Major Boles for signing and circulating General Macdowall's general order, and the other the suspension of a number of officers, on private information, without notice and without trial. In appointing a new commander-in-chief the impolicy of excluding him from the council was so strongly recognized, that one of the civil members was removed to make way for him. A motion for the recall of Sir George Barlow, though defeated in July, 1811, was renewed at the end of the following year and carried.

A.D. 1809

Final suppression of mutiny in Madras army.

The nature of the Madras mutiny, the questions which it raised, and the proper mode of disposing of them, cannot be more clearly stated, nor more authoritatively stated, than in the following extract of a letter written by the Duke of Wellington from Badajoz on the 3d of December, 1809, to Sir John Malcolm: "These transactions and their causes prove that it is not always the man who has the character of being the best-natured, and one of the easiest disposition, who will agree best with those placed in authority over him, or those with whom he is to co operate. They owe their origin to the disputes of the persons in authority in India, that is to say, between the governor and the commander-in-chief. Both, but principally the latter, looked for partizans and supporters, and these have ended by throwing off all subordination, by relinquishing all habits of obedience, and almost by open resistance. Nothing can be more absurd than the pretext for this conduct. Colonel Monro's opinion might be erroneous, and might have been harsh towards his brother officers; but not only he ought not to have been brought to a court-martial for giving that opinion, but he ought to have been brought to a court-martial if he had refrained from giving it, when he was called upon by the commander-in-chief to make him a report on a subject referred to his special consideration. The officers of the army are equally wrong in the part they have taken in the subsequent part of the question, which is one between the governor and the commander-in-chief, whether the former had a right to protect Colonel Monro from the acts of the latter, upon which question no man can have a doubt who has any knowledge of the constitution of Great Britain, and particularly of that of the Indian governments. I who

Duke of Wellington's views on the subject.

A.D 1809. have arrived pretty nearly at the top of the tree should be the last man to give up any point of right or military etiquette. But I have no doubt whatever, not only that it was the right, but that it was the duty of the governor in council to interfere to save Colonel Monro; and that if he had not done so, and the public had sustained any loss or inconvenience from his trial, or if the public attention had been drawn to the injustice of his trial, the governor would have been severely responsible for the omission to perform his duty. So far for my opinion upon the main points of the question. As for the others, the conduct of officers upon the addresses, the orders issued, the resolutions entered into, the resignations of their offices, &c., they are consequences of the first error; that is, of persons in authority making partizans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the state. This conduct in the officers of the army would have been wrong, even if the cause had been just and the commander-in-chief had wished to screen Colonel Monro from the persecution of the government; and it is really not worth while to take up my time in describing, or yours in perusing a description of the folly, the inconsistency, or the breaches of discipline and subordination contained in all those documents"

The Duke of Wellington's views on Madras mutiny.

Military expeditions under Lord Minto's government.

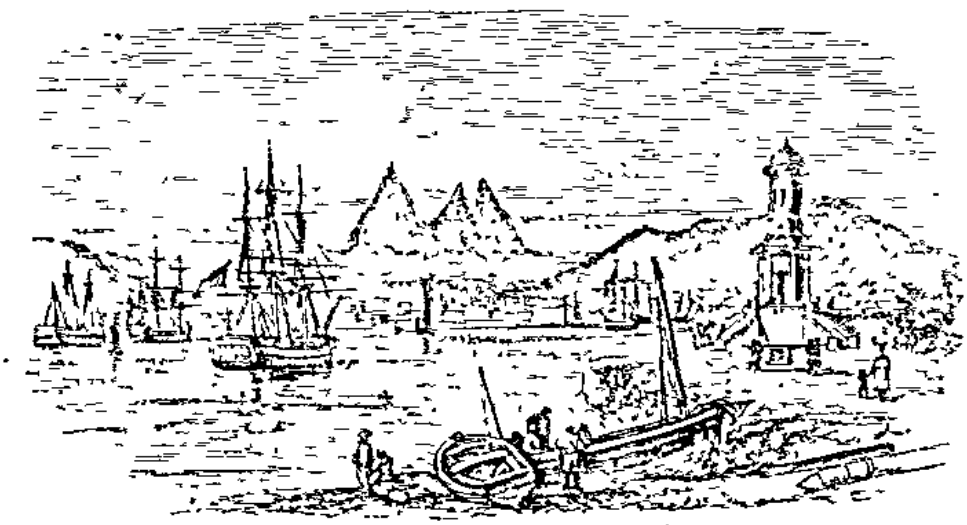
Notwithstanding the local disturbances which have been described, the general peace of India was not interrupted during Lord Minto's administration. The period, however, was by no means destitute of stirring incidents and brilliant achievements, and his lordship repeatedly showed that he possessed abundance of activity and enterprise; but as the occasions on which they were displayed were more connected with European than with Indian politics, a very brief notice of them will suffice. On the occupation of Portugal by the French, the governor-general, in accordance with instructions from the British ministry, proceeded to take military occupation of the Portuguese settlements in the East. This was unnecessary with regard to Goa, where an arrangement, giving the military authority to the British, and reserving the civil administration to the Portuguese, had already been made. In order to effect a similar arrangement at Macao, an expedition fitted out at Calcutta and Madras sailed in the end of July, and arrived on the 11th of September, 1809. It was unexpected, and the governor of Macao having received no instructions from Europe, refused to receive the sanction of the viceroy of Goa as sufficient authority for resigning the place Force was therefore employed, and he was compelled to yield a reluctant assent to British military occupation. It seems to have been altogether forgotten that the Chinese had a right to be consulted, and the consequence was a complete stoppage of the British trade, and a narrow escape from a war with China. The expedition thus proved a complete failure.

The next expeditions were of a more important character and produced more fortunate results. The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, in the possession of the French, had long been the rendezvous of their navy in the East, and of

numerous privateers, who preyed upon the British trade and inflicted enormous losses upon it. In 1807 the port of Calcutta alone, in the course of six weeks, sustained losses by capture to the amount of £300,000. As the most effectual means of escaping from these losses, and paralyzing the naval resources of the French in the Indian Ocean, it was determined to attempt the capture of the islands. With this view, after an important station had been obtained by seizing the small island of Rodriguez, situated about 100 leagues east of the Mauritius, and a descent had been made on the Isle of Bourbon, which seemed to prove that the capture of the whole island might be effected without difficulty, the

A.D. 1810.

Attack on French settlements.



PORT LOUIS MAURITIUS.—From a French print

governor-general fitted out a powerful armament, which arrived at Rodriguez on the 20th of June, 1810. Having joined the troops already there under Colonel Keating, it sailed again on the 3d of July, under a strong squadron of the British navy in command of Commodore Rowley, effected a landing on the 7th in the vicinity of St. Denis, the capital, and completed the conquest of the whole island with the loss of only eighteen killed and fifty-nine wounded. This success was almost counterbalanced by some severe naval losses which the British shortly after sustained, not so much from the superiority of the enemy as from an imperfect acquaintance with the pilotage of the coast. These disasters having been repaired, the more important conquest of the Mauritius was now to be attempted.

Capture of Bourbon.

The expedition, to which each of the three Indian presidencies contributed a quota, anchored on the 29th of November, 1810, in Grande Baye, near the north-east extremity of the island, and about fifteen miles from Port Louis, its capital. A landing was immediately effected without opposition, and the whole force, mustering about 11,000 men, began to advance. The French governor was unable to muster more than 2000 Europeans, and a considerable number of undisciplined and half-armed inhabitants and slaves. With these, however,

Expedition to the Mauritius.

A D 1810. he ventured to make a stand in an advantageous position a few miles from the capital, and was not driven from it till he had inflicted some loss. Preparations being made to assault the town by land and cannonade it by sea, the governor offered to capitulate, and, owing to the advanced state of the season, obtained favourable terms. The strength of the place had been greatly overrated, and the conquest of the island, which immediately followed, though undoubtedly a valuable acquisition, was made by such an overpowering force that no great honour was gained by it.

Capture of the Mauritius

Attack on Dutch settlements

After the reduction of the French islands, the settlements of the Dutch, who, in consequence of Napoleon's successes, had become, more by compulsion than choice, the allies of the French, became the next objects of attack. All that the British ministry originally contemplated was a vigorous blockade of Java and the Spice Islands. Lord Minto and Admiral Drury concurred in recommending a more decided course, and instead of resting satisfied with blockade, decided on capture. With this view, a small expedition was in the first instance fitted out against the Moluccas, and sailing from Madras, arrived off Amboyna, the largest of the group, in February, 1810. The town, situated at the bottom of a small bay, was defended by batteries placed along the beach and on the adjoining heights, and also by Fort Victoria mounting heavy ordnance. The resistance was feeble, and a summons to surrender, sent as soon as the commanding heights were gained, was at once obeyed. The defence had been disgraceful, for a body of more than 1300 Europeans and Malays surrendered to a third of that number. The governor paid the penalty of his treachery or cowardice with his life. On arriving at Java, to which he was sent in terms of the capitulation, he was tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and shot. In the capture of Amboyna, the so-called massacre which was perpetrated upon it in the early annals of the Company, was for the first time avenged. The Bandas, Ternate, and the other islands of the group, were shortly afterwards taken, and the only important settlement which remained with the Dutch in the Eastern Archipelago was the island of Java. The expedition against it, though previously contemplated, had been deferred till the return of the troops from the Mauritius. These, with the addition of his majesty's 78th regiment and a portion of the 22d dragoons, were immediately re-embarked, while a large detachment, accompanied by the governor-general in person, sailed from Bengal. The expedition was commanded by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, commander-in-chief at Madras. At Malacca, the appointed rendezvous, the different detachments were assembled by the 1st June, and after an intricate navigation, not as usual through the Straits of Banda, but by an inner passage along the south-west coast of Borneo, the whole force anchored off the north coast of Java, on the 2d of August, 1811. Napoleon's attention had been particularly called to the island by a feeble attempt made upon it by the British in 1807. Reinforcements had in consequence been sent out, and

Conquest of the Moluccas and Java

General Daendels, an able and determined officer, had been appointed governor. A D 1811
Under his management the old forts had been repaired and new formidable works had been erected, but fortunately, perhaps, for the expedition, he had been superseded by General Jansens, just before the expedition arrived. Conquest of Java.
Instead of entering into details, it must here suffice simply to mention that after Batavia had been easily occupied, and Fort Cornelis carried by a dreadful assault, in which British prowess was signally displayed, the whole island, with its dependencies, was formally surrendered by treaty to Great Britain. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Stamford Raffles, by whom the expedition had been first suggested and its practicability demonstrated, was appointed lieutenant-governor, and Colonel Gillespie, whose skill and gallantry had greatly contributed to the conquest, was left in command of the troops.



SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, KNT
After a bust by Chantrey

The governor-general, shortly after his return to Calcutta in the end of 1811, received information that Earl Moira had been appointed his successor He had himself expressed a wish to resign in January, 1814, but a change of ministry had made patronage desirable, and the period he had mentioned seeming to the dispensers of it too distant, they had not been able to refrain from manifesting their impatience by recalling him. The short period of office remaining to him was employed in endeavouring to place the amicable relations of the British government with allies and adjoining states on a satisfactory *footing, and promoting the internal prosperity of the country* In the former class of arrangements he was not very successful Oude continued to be in as diseased a state as ever, and the very vague terms in which Marquis Wellesley's subsidiary treaty was couched, gave rise to interminable misunderstandings between the nabob and the resident; the nabob interpreting them in the sense which gave him the greatest freedom from restraint, and the resident stretching their meaning so as to give him an almost unlimited right of interference Lord Minto took part with the resident, but ceased to rule before he had completed a final arrangement In regard to the Nepaulese and the Burmese, his policy was chargeable with dilatoriness, if not with timidity Both of them had actually encroached on the British territory Had they been instantly checked in a resolute spirit, they might easily have been intimidated, whereas, by first complaining of encroachment, and then temporizing, Lord Minto encouraged future insolence and aggression, and left the necessary punishment

State of affairs in Oude Nepaul, and Burmah.

A.D. 1811. of them as a burdensome legacy to his successor. The same thing may be said of the half measures he adopted to check the incursions of the Pindarees.

Merits of Lord Minto's administration

In regard to financial arrangements Lord Minto's administration was eminently successful. The continuation of peace enabled him to give effect to the system of economy which his predecessor commenced, and in the very second year of his administration, the annual deficit disappeared, and a surplus of revenue over expenditure was obtained. This surplus, in his last year of office, amounted to about £1,500,000 sterling. This favourable state of matters, however, was produced, not so much by any increased aggregate of revenue, or by any diminished aggregate of expenditure, as by improved credit, which enabled the Company to contract new loans at a lower, and thus pay off those which they had contracted at a higher rate of interest. On loans opened in 1790, 1796, and 1798, the rate of interest was 12 per cent; in 1810, the rate on the whole of the Company's outstanding obligations was reduced to 6 per cent. Simultaneously with this improved power of borrowing, the debt itself had rapidly increased in amount. In 1792 it was little more than £7,000,000 sterling; and in 1799, £10,000,000 In 1805, towards the end of Marquis Wellesley's administration, it had risen to nearly £21,000,000, and in 1807 to £26,000,000. In this last year the interest was £2,228,000. In the last year of Lord Minto's administration, though another £1,000,000 had been added to the debt, making it in all £27,000,000. the interest was only £1,636,000; in other words a reduction of interest to the amount of more than £500,000 sterling had been effected.

His encouragement of native literature

Among the personal merits of Lord Minto must not be forgotten the interest which he took in native literature, and the liberal patronage which he extended to those who cultivated it. So far as compatible with the restrictions imposed upon him by the home authorities, he endeavoured to carry out the view of Marquis Wellesley in founding the college of Fort William, and he also proposed a plan for the foundation of Hindoo colleges at Nadiya and Tirhoot These were to have been followed by Mahometan colleges in other localities. The object contemplated by these institutions was to continue to native literature that encouragement which it received from native governments, but which had ceased in consequence of the political revolutions which the country had undergone In regard to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, the conduct of Lord Minto unfortunately is inconsistent with itself, and at variance with the good sense and enlightened spirit which he usually displayed. Besides defraying out of the public treasury the expense of several native grammars, dictionaries, and other rudimentary works printed at the Serampore press, he gave liberal aid to the Serampore translations of the Scriptures, and yet issued an edict which evidently tended, if not to crush them altogether, to diminish their usefulness, and bring them under bondage. Sir George Barlow, sharing in the prejudices then generally entertained by old European residents, and

alarmed at the supposed connection between missionary labours and the Vellore mutiny, prohibited the missionaries from preaching in the public streets, or sending itinerant native preachers through the villages, or gratuitously distributing controversial and religious tracts, but imposed no restriction on their private instructions or Scripture translations, and left them at liberty to perform divine service in Bengalee in their mission-house at Calcutta. One of the first acts of Lord Minto's government was not merely to renew the restrictions, but to threaten the missionaries with others of a still more rigorous description. The pretext for this procedure was the circulation of a tract in Persian containing what was called a scurrilous account of Mahomet By a strange perversion of the meaning of words it was held that government, by promising to protect the great body of the people in the undisturbed exercise of their religion, were thereby pledged not to allow any one to obtrude upon them printed works containing arguments or exhortations at variance with their religious tenets. The inference drawn was, that the Company were under an obligation to suppress, within the limits of their territory, treatises and public preaching offensive to the religious persuasions of the people — an obligation which considerations of necessary caution, of general safety, and national faith and honour, made it imperative on them to fulfil. In conformity to this very curious pledge and obligation, the governor-general in council not only prohibited the issue of religious tracts, but ordered that public preaching in the vernacular tongue in the mission-house at Calcutta should be discontinued Even this was not deemed sufficient, and for the avowed purpose of bringing the missionary press more immediately under the control of the officers of the government, the missionaries were commanded to remove it from Serampore to Calcutta.

A.D. 1811.

Prejudice against missionaries.



WILLIAM CAREY, D D
From a portrait by Robert Home, Calcutta.

Injurious restrictions.

In order to see all the enormity of this edict it is necessary to remember that at this time Serampore was Danish, not British territory, and that the governor-general in council had no more right to expel the missionaries from it than to expel them from Copenhagen. Thus, under the pretext of maintaining what was called "national faith and honour," he was grossly violating both, by tyrannically interfering with the rights of an European sovereign The

Tyrannical edict

A D 1811

removal of the missionaries from Serampore was equivalent to a confiscation of their property there, since it rendered the whole establishment on which their capital had been expended worthless. If, by some absurd misnomer, this could be called toleration to Hindoos and Mahometans, what was it to Christian missionaries but rank persecution? They were to be put to an expense which they declared to be ruinous, and their mouths were to be gagged in order that they might not be able to preach the gospel within their own mission-house to the natives who would have come of their own accord to listen to it. The whole proceeding was so monstrous, that when the missionaries remonstrated, government hesitated in carrying out coercive measures which could only have been characterized as an anti-Christian crusade. The interdict on preaching in the chapel at Calcutta was withdrawn, and the missionaries saved their Serampore press by submitting to a censorship. Henceforth, not one of the tracts penned by such men as Carey, Marshman, and Ward, nor indeed any work whatever, could issue from their press until it had undergone a degrading inspection, and received the imprimatur of the government secretary at Calcutta.

Tyrannical edict issued against missionaries.

The tyrannical edict directed against the Baptist missionaries is the great blot on Lord Minto's administration, and is the more to be regretted, because he had in many respects well earned the honour of being regarded as a model governor-general. Before he quitted the government, the crown testified its approbation of his services by advancing him a step in the peerage, by which he became Earl Minto. This honour, apparently the only reward which he received, he was not permitted long to enjoy, as he died in 1814, a few months after his arrival in this country. With the termination of his administration, a new era in the history of British India commenced. The twenty years for which the Company's charter was renewed by Act 33 Geo. III. c. 52, expired on the 1st of March, 1814, and with a view to this event, the three years' notice to which the Company were entitled, was given in the beginning of March, 1811. An account of the important discussions which preceded the renewal of the charter, and the terms on which it was ultimately granted, must be reserved to form the appropriate commencement of a new volume.

Death of Lord Minto.

END OF VOL. II.

GLASGOW: W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS, VILLAFIELD.

A

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE TRADE TO INDIA TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE COMPANY AS A COMMERCIAL BODY.

CHAPTER I.

Renewal of the Company's charter by Act 53 George III. c. 155—Its leading provisions—Earl Moira governor-general—Hostilities with Nepaul—Repulses at Kalunga—Its capture—Combined attacks defeated—The Ghoorka lines at Ramghur turned—Capture of Ramghur—Subsequent operations—Retreat of General Marley—Invasion of Kumaon—Malaun captured—Negotiations for peace—Hostilities renewed—Peace concluded—Proceedings in Cutch—Disturbances at Hyderabad and Bareilly—Capture of Hatras.

AT the last renewal of the Company's charter in 1793 the continuance of their monopoly was strenuously opposed, particularly by the large commercial towns, which naturally desired to share in the traffic to the East, and insisted that with perfect safety it might, and therefore in justice ought to be, thrown completely open. The concession made in 1793 was very slight, and consisted only in requiring the Company to allot a certain quantity of their tonnage annually for the accommodation of the private trade. This paltry concession increased rather than diminished the general discontent. Not merely the limited amount of the allotted tonnage, but the heavy freight charged for it and the inconvenient regulations by which the use of it was trammelled, formed just subjects of popular complaint; and it was foreseen by all parties that, in any new charter that might be granted to the Company, concessions at once more extensive in their nature and more liberal in their spirit behoved to be made. Prudence required that a discussion, which could not be avoided, and which would of necessity be keen and protracted, should not be too long postponed; and hence, as early as 1808, while the House of Commons appointed a select committee to inquire into the state of the affairs of the East India Company, Mr. Dundas, on the part of the Board of Control and the crown, suggested to

A D 1808.

Proposed renewal of the Company's charter.

A.D. 1813

It would seem that ministers, when they first invited the directors to a discussion of the subject, were not unwilling to have confined the import to London, and thus continued the Company in possession of all their warehousing advantages. Had the original terms which they offered been accepted, there is little doubt from the apathy existing in the public mind in regard to everything but the astounding events of which the continent of Europe was then the theatre, that a renewed charter might have been obtained, nearly on the very terms on which they were at length petitioning that it should be granted. It was now too late. They had lost their opportunity, and been outwitted by their own grasping spirit. A change of ministry had taken place, and several members of the new cabinet, influenced as much perhaps by political connection as by conviction, declared loudly in favour of commercial freedom. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, whom as Lord Hobart we have already seen governor of Madras, was now president of the Board of Control, and lost no time in informing the directors that the import as well as the export trade must be opened, though the former would necessarily be subjected to some restrictions, intended chiefly for the prevention of smuggling. All hopes of a successful compromise were in consequence abandoned by the proprietors, who, on the 5th of May, held a general court, in which they adopted a series of resolutions, and drew largely upon their imaginations in depicting the misery and ruin which must ensue by allowing any place but London to import directly from India. Ministers, so far from being alarmed at this gloomy picture, closed the discussion on the 4th of January, 1813, with a kind of menace to the effect that, if the Company thought themselves incapable of governing India under a system of free trade, it would remain for parliament to determine whether their future intervention in the government might not be dispensed with. The proprietors, equally resolute, not only repeated their former resolutions, but on the 22d of February presented a petition to parliament, deprecating any extension of the import trade from India to the outports of Great Britain, and praying for a renewal of the privileges granted by the charter of 1793.

Failure of negotiations between government and the directors.

Nothing now remained but to commence the struggle, and accordingly on the 22d of March, 1813, Lord Castlereagh submitted to the House of Commons a series of thirteen resolutions, containing the leading provisions which it was proposed to embody in an act renewing the Company's charter. Most of the questions discussed were then novel, and both the dangers apprehended by the one party, and the expectations entertained by the other, made it necessary for the legislature to proceed with the utmost caution. Information was sought from all quarters, and whole volumes of evidence were taken from those who were supposed most competent to give it. In the debates which afterwards ensued, there were few speakers of eminence in either house who did not deliver their sentiments, and deem them of so much importance as to justify the

Discussion revived

A D 1813.

Parliamentary debates on renewal of Company's charter.

subsequent revisal and publication of their speeches. So great, however, has been the progress of political economy as a science, and so strong the light which has been thrown upon it by experience since this famous debate, that many of the propositions most elaborately argued are now regarded as truisms, and much of the alarm sounded is felt to be mere exaggeration. The result is therefore the only thing which now possesses much historical interest, and nothing more is necessary here than to give a very brief analysis of the most important sections of the Act 53 Geo. III. c. 155, which, while essentially modifying and curtailing the privileges formerly possessed by the Company, renewed their charter for another period of twenty years, to be computed from the 10th day of April, 1814.



Lord Castlereagh.
From a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

After declaring that the territorial acquisitions now in possession of the Company, are to remain with them "without prejudice to the undoubted sovereignty of the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in and over the same, or to any claim of the said United Company to any rights, franchises, or immunities," the act proceeds, in its first section, to declare it expedient that "the right of trading, trafficking in and adventuring in, to and from all ports and places within the limits of the said United Company's present charter, save and except the dominions of the Emperor of China, should be open to all his majesty's subjects in common with the said United Company, subject to certain regulations and provisions, but that the existing restraints respecting the commercial intercourse with China should be continued, and the exclusive trade in tea preserved to the said Company." The principal "regulations and provisions" enacted were that the trade thus opened should be carried on in vessels of not less than 350 tons registered measurement, and that the imports from India should be admitted only to such ports as should be certified for that purpose by orders in council.

Terms of new charter

The above provisions for opening and regulating the trade with India constitute the main features in the act, but there were others not of a commercial nature which met with strenuous opposition, and were denounced by many as dangerous in the extreme, if not absolutely incompatible with the existence of

the British power in India. After reading the earnest and virulent declamation directed against the 13th resolution, proposed by Lord Castlereagh, one is surprised, and at the same time relieved, on finding that, both as it was originally expressed and as it now stands embodied in the 33d section of the act, it pledged the legislature to nothing more than the following simple proposition: That "it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement; and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs, so as the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and the principles of the British government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained." In order to give effect to this declaration, the section proceeds to enact that "persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the above purposes," or "for other lawful purposes," should apply for permission to the court of directors, who should either grant it, or, in the event of refusal, transmit the application, within one month of the receipt of it, to the Board of Control, who were empowered finally to dispose of it. All persons obtaining permission, whether from the court or from the board, were to be furnished by the directors with certificates, entitling them, "so long as they shall properly conduct themselves, to the countenance and protection of the several governments of the said Company in the East Indies, and parts aforesaid, in their respective pursuits, subject to all such provisions and restrictions as are now in force, or may hereafter be judged necessary with regard to persons residing in India." The only pecuniary provision made in connection with this section, was the allotment of a sum of not less than £10,000 annually for the "revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." Such a sum, paltry as it was, was not permitted to do the good which might have been expected from it, and instead of being employed in instructing the natives generally, continued for many years to be partly paid away to learned Mahometans and Hindoos, for explaining and inculcating their respective dogmas, and partly allowed to accumulate, as if expenditure for native education were impracticable or useless.

A.D 1813.

Leading provisions of new charter.

European residents.

Education

The only sections of the act in which there was any distinct recognition of the claims of Christianity were those in which provision was made "for the maintenance and support of a church establishment" in the East Indies. By section 49th, it was provided that, if his majesty should be pleased by his royal

Religion.

A D 1813

letters-patent under the great seal, "to erect, found, and constitute one bishopric for the whole of the British territories in the East Indies," and one archdeaconry for each of the presidencies, the Company were to pay £5000 per annum to the bishop, and £2000 per annum to each of the archdeacons." While the question of an Episcopal church establishment was under discussion, a claim was put in for the Church of Scotland, on the very sufficient ground that a majority of the British residents in India were Scotch, and of the Presbyterian communion. The justice of the claim was not denied, but on some plea of expediency, more easily understood than vindicated, it was not recognized in the act, and the appointment of Scottish chaplains, which Presbyterian residents were entitled to demand from the legislature as a right, was only received as a boon from the court of directors.

Provision in new charter for support of a church establishment in India

Provision respecting patronage

The only other sections of the act which it is necessary to notice are the 80th, which increased the patronage of ministers, or rather removed the ambiguity which previously attached to it, by enacting that in future the appointments of governor-general, governors, and commanders-in-chief, should not be valid without the express approbation of the crown, signified by the sign-manual, countersigned by the president of the Board of Control—the 88th, which prohibited the directors and proprietors, without consent of the board, from granting a gratuity of more than £600—and the 90th, by which the originally gratuitous services of the board were to be paid by salaries, which, limited by the act of 1793 to an aggregate of £22,000, were henceforth not to exceed £26,000 per annum

Commencement of Earl Moira's administration

Earl Moira formally assumed the office of governor-general at Calcutta on the 4th of October, 1813, and found the position of affairs by no means flattering The expense of the foreign embassies and foreign conquests had trenched deeply on the revenues, and a considerable amount of financial embarrassment had ensued. In order to meet the demands for retrenchment the army had been injudiciously reduced, and far more than a fair amount of service was required from it. The natural result was a degree of discontent, and in connection with it a laxity of discipline These things were the more to be deplored, from its being obvious that the relations with neighbouring states were not satisfactory, and that, particularly with one of them, hostilities had already become all but inevitable. This was the state of Nepaul, with which the British arms had not hitherto come into direct collision.

State of Nepaul

The territories of Nepaul, according to the limits claimed for them at this period, skirted the northern British frontier, including that of Oude, for about 700 miles, in a direction from north-west to south-east, and extended backwards with an average breadth of 130 miles across the ascending ranges of the Himalaya, to its region of eternal snow. A more forbidding theatre on which to carry on an offensive warfare could not be imagined, and this may perhaps be one of the reasons which induced successive governors general to submit to

insults and encroachments on the part of the Nepaulese, and continued to negotiate, after it had become manifest that the points in dispute could not be settled without an appeal to arms. A brief recapitulation of the circumstances will be necessary. A.D 1813



General the Earl of Moira.
After a picture by H. A. Sumi, R.A.

Nepaul proper was originally confined to a single mountain valley, of no great extent, commencing on the edge of one of the lower ranges of the chain, and continued longitudinally through passes, practicable only during a few of the summer months, to the table-land of Tibet. The primeval inhabitants belong to the Tibetan family, but their origin is so remote that no authentic account of it can be given. Hindoo colonists, headed by Rajpoot chiefs, arrived and established a complete ascendency. Feuds among the chiefs were followed by the usual results. The weaker, unable to hold their ground, were gradually absorbed by the stronger, and after a long struggle a few of the more talented or more fortunate reduced all the others to subjection. As late as 1765 the valley of Nepaul was shared by the three Hindoo Rajahs of Khatmandoo, Lalita-patan, and Bhatgaon. Their

General description of Nepaul

A.D. 1813 sole master. The sovereignty thus won he transmitted to his descendants, and the name of Ghoorkas, at first applied only to the members of his tribe, became the common designation of all his subjects.

Ghoorka ascendency in Nepaul

Prithi Narayan was succeeded in 1771 by his son Pratap Sing, who survived him only four years, and left an infant son Rana Bahadur, under the guardianship of his widow Rajendra Lakshmi, and his brother Bahadur Sah. Though a regency could hardly have been in itself favourable to advancement, the fact however is, that the career of conquest commenced by the founder of the new dynasty was so vigorously followed up, that not only several rajahs to the east and west, but the living type of Buddha residing at Lassa in Tibet was obliged to profess allegiance to the Ghoorka rajah. This, however, was too daring an insult to Buddhism to be overlooked. The Emperor of China himself undertook to avenge it, and sent a large army which had advanced triumphantly within a few miles of Khatmandoo, when the Ghoorka state was only saved from destruction by agreeing to become tributary to China. As in consequence of this discomfiture conquest to the north was no longer to be dreamed of, the Ghoorkas confined their aggressions to their more immediate neighbours, and were thus gradually brought to the British frontiers.

First British intercourse with Nepaul.

As early as 1767, when Prithi Narayan was only laying the foundations of his power, the Bengal government had rashly interfered with the affairs of Nepaul. The Rajah of Khatmandoo when driven from the open country, and obliged to shut himself up in his capital, sent a pressing invitation to Calcutta for assistance against the Ghoorka rajah. When the council agreed to grant it they must have been taking a leap in the dark. They knew nothing of the justice of the cause, nor of the relative strength of the contending parties, and had nothing better to allege in justification of their interference, than that an advantageous trade had been carried on between the rajah's country and that of Berar, and a considerable quantity of gold imported into Bengal. A military expedition, undertaken solely with such sordid views, experienced the fate which it deserved. Captain Kinloch, to whom the command was intrusted, finding the task much more difficult than he had imagined, applied for reinforcements. The council, unable to grant them, because all the troops they could muster were required to maintain the contest with Hyder, recalled the expedition; but with the same disregard of justice which they had manifested throughout, seized some rich and fertile lands of the Ghoorka rajah, bordering on "the Betten country, which was in quiet possession of the vizier" (Nabob of Oude), in order "to indemnify the charge already incurred." In other words, they first make war upon the Ghoorka rajah who had never offended them, because they hoped it would prove profitable, and when they are repulsed, they indemnify themselves for their own injustice by seizing a valuable portion of his territory. It is rather singular that this expedition, though directly at variance with the course of policy which the directors were constantly incul-

eating, received their marked approbation Referring to it in their letter to Bengal, dated 11th November, 1768, they say:—"As we look with a favourable eye on every attempt for the extension of commerce, we do not disapprove the expedition to Nepaul, and are sorry it failed of success. You did right not to renew the expedition till the state of your forces would better admit of it, and to hold in your possession lands taken from the Ghoorka rajah as an indemnification for the expenses we had been put to; and they may be of use, should it hereafter be thought proper to renew the attempt, and we hope their amount has answered your expectations" A D 1813

British expedition against Nepaul.

Intercourse with Nepaul, when next attempted by the Company, was of a pacific character. In 1792, apparently in consequence of the Chinese invasion, the Rajah of Nepaul, who must now have been the same as the Ghoorka rajah, though the Bengal government appears not to have been aware of the fact, applied for military aid. Captain Kirkpatrick was in consequence sent on a mission to Khatmandoo, and obtained much new and interesting information respecting the country. The political benefits contemplated were not, however, realized, and matters returned to their former footing In 1795, Rana Bahadur having attained majority, assumed the government. One of his first acts was to put his uncle to death, as a punishment for the thraldom in which he had kept him during his guardianship. This might perhaps have been pardoned, but his whole life was so dissolute, and his cruelty so ferocious, that his subjects rose in arms against him, and compelled him to abdicate in favour of his son. He retired to Benares, and as it was hoped that his exile might have improved him, he was permitted after two years to return. His old habits returned with him, and provoked a conspiracy of his principal nobles, who murdered him in open council, and placed his half-brother, Shir Bahadur, upon the throne. A civil war ensued, during which the ascendency was gained by a chief of the name of Bim Sah, who placed an illegitimate son of Rana Bahadur upon the throne, and conducted the government in his name with so much ability that the Ghoorka territories were greatly extended, reaching so far to the west as to threaten a collision with Runjeet Sing, and encroaching so much on the territories of the Company as to make longer forbearance impossible.

Pacific intercourse.

The encroachments of the Ghoorkas, when they first commenced, were justified by a plea which was probably not unfounded We have already seen that in 1767, rich and fertile tracts belonging to the Ghoorka rajah were seized by the Company without the least semblance of justice, and therefore, when the Ghoorkas alleged that the tracts which they had occupied originally belonged to Nepaul, there cannot be a doubt that, in regard at least to some of them, the allegation was strictly true. In regard to others of them, again, there is just as little doubt that they were justly characterized as encroachments; and hence, as there was right and wrong on both sides, the points in dispute were

Ghoorka encroachments.

distinct divisions. Selecting the river Kalee, which, though now the western boundary of Nepaul, was at the commencement of the war near its centre, as the common basis from which operations were to diverge to the west and to the east, Earl Moira made his arrangements as follows:—the first division, consisting of about 6000 men, under General Ochterlony, was to attack the Ghoorka positions at the western extremity of their line; the second division of 3500 men, under General Gillespie, was to occupy the valley of Dehra Doon, situated above the first range of hills, and lay siege to the fortress of Jytak, in the province of Ghurwal; the third division, about 4500 strong, under General Hood, was to start from the Goruckpoor frontier, and advance through Bhotwal and Sheeoraj to Palpa; the fourth division, mustering nearly 8000 men, under General Marley, was to march through Makwanpoor directly upon Khatmandoo, the capital. At various points at which the enemy might attempt to force their way into the British territories, local corps were stationed, while toward the eastern extremity of Nepaul, beyond the Coosy river, Captain Latter, with a local and a regular native battalion, was not only to defend the frontier, but, if opportunity offered, to assume the offensive. The whole Ghoorka force did not exceed 12,000 regular troops, scattered along the whole length of their frontier. Such a force, so inferior in every respect to that brought against it, could not, under ordinary circumstances, have made any effectual resistance; but the nature of the country furnished them with numerous almost impregnable fastnesses, and their native courage animated them to a defence which, though it could not ultimately avail, protracted the war, and inflicted repeated disasters on their invaders. In course of time the struggle became completely national, and bands of irregular troops sprung up in all parts of the country to aid in fighting the battle of independence. As the four divisions of the British force formed in fact so many distinct armies, it will be necessary to give a separate detail of the operations of each.

A.D. 1814

Plan laid down by Earl Moira for campaign against the Ghoorkas

On the 19th of October, 1814, the advance of General Gillespie's division, which had assembled at Saharunpoor, started under command of Colonel Carpenter, and proceeded by the Timlee Pass into the valley of Dehra Doon. Three days after the main body followed under Colonel Mawbey, who occupied the town of Dehra, and continued to follow the retiring Ghoorkas in the direction of Kalunga, or Nalapani, situated about five miles to the north-east. This fort, which was of small dimensions, occupied one extremity of the flat summit of a detached hill, which was about 600 feet in height, and had its steep sides covered with jungle. The position was naturally strong, but little had been done for it by art, the whole fort consisting of a quadrangular stone building, to which access had been rendered difficult by means of stockades. It was garrisoned by 600 men, under *Balbhadra Sing, a leader of tried ability and courage.* Colonel Mawbey on arriving before the place, and receiving a defiance in answer to his summons, began to prepare for the siege, and having by very

Serious repulses at Kalunga

A D. 1814. great exertion succeeded in placing some guns in battery on the top of the hill, ventured on an attack. It proved abortive, and he suspended proceedings to wait for further orders General Gillespie arrived on the 26th of October with the remainder of the force, and immediately caused a battery of heavier guns to be erected. So much progress was made that the assault was fixed for the 31st. The storming party consisted of four columns of attack and a reserve. Three of the columns, in order to reach their allotted stations, had to make a considerable circuit, and had not reached them when the signal gun for the attack was fired. It is said that they never heard it, or, if they did, did not believe it to be the signal, as the time originally fixed had not then arrived. Be this as it may, it would seem that the enemy, who were probably aware of the intended assault, disdained to wait for it, and taking advantage of the absence of the others, made a vigorous sortie on the remaining column. It was repulsed, and General Gillespie, in the hope that his men might be able to enter the entrenchments along with the fugitives, ordered them to rush forward and carry the place by escalade. It was a rash attempt The batteries had made no impression on the works, and the assailants, when they arrived at the foot of the wall, were met by such a murderous fire as swept them off by whole files, and made it impossible to plant the ladders. When thus foiled they attempted to carry the gateway and an outwork which defended In this they were equally unsuccessful, and had no alternative but to seek the cover of some huts in the vicinity. General Gillespie's impatience had already cost his men dear; it was now to prove fatal to himself. Irritated at the previous failure, nothing would satisfy him but a renewal of the attempt. At the head of three fresh companies of his majesty's 53d regiment, and a company of dismounted dragoons, he hastened again towards the gate, and being in advance of the men of the 53d, who hung back, was waving his sword, and calling upon them to follow, when a musket-ball pierced his heart. This disaster completed the second failure, and the assailants were again driven off with a heavy loss All hope of taking the fort with the inadequate means provided was now abandoned, and Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command had devolved, returned with the division to Dehra, to wait the arrival of a battering train from Delhi



Major General Robert Rollo Gillespie.
After a portrait by Chinnery

Serious repulses of the British by the Ghoorkas at Kalunga

The battering train having arrived on the 24th of November, the division set out on the following day to resume the siege of Kalunga. By means of a battery of eighteen-pounders, a practicable breach was effected on the 27th, and

A D. 1814

Repulse at Ramghur

reinforcement sent from the battery was obliged to share their flight, and a large proportion of the whole party had fallen before a strong detachment from the camp arrived, and effectually checked their pursuers. This affair, magnified by the enemy into a victory, tended to counteract the moral effect of the advantages which the division had previously gained.

General Ochterlony, though aware how much the difficulties with which he had to contend could now be increased, was preparing to carry out his plan for turning the Ghoorka lines, when he received intelligence of the second serious repulse at Kalunga. Afraid that a general rising of the whole country might ensue, he deemed it prudent to abandon the offensive till new reinforcements should enable him to resume it with more certainty of success. This period of inaction was not unprofitably spent The country as far as practicable was explored, roads practicable both for troops and artillery were formed, and some degree of discipline was given to the irregular troops of some petty rajahs, whom the presence of a British force had emboldened to throw off the Ghoorka yoke. On the 26th of December, after nearly a month had been devoted to these useful labours, the expected reinforcements arrived. They consisted of the 2d battalion of the 7th native infantry and a levy of Sikhs. General Ochterlony, feeling again strong enough, immediately resumed the offensive by sending off a detachment to spread along the enemy's rear and threaten his communications with Arkee and Bilaspoor, by occupying a low range of hills on the north-east of Ramghur. Amar Sing, alarmed at this movement, endeavoured to frustrate it by a daring attack on the detachment The offensive, however, proved as adverse to him as it had done to the British in their encounters, and he sustained a repulse which obliged him to return to his position at Ramghur The British general, still following out his plan, left Colonel Arnold with a division to watch the enemy's movements, and proceeded with the main body towards a mountain ridge, the occupation of which would place him between the Sutlej and the Ghoorka fort of Malaun. At the same time he sent forward about 2000 troops belonging to the petty Rajah of Hindoor, who had early joined him and rendered valuable service. These troops, under the command of Captain Ross, took possession of the heights above Bilaspoor, between whose rajah and that of Hindoor a deadly feud had long existed The success of these combined movements soon appeared. Amar Sing, convinced that his position was no longer tenable, left a garrison in the fort of Ramghur, and hastened with his whole remaining force to the ridge on which Malaun stands Colonel Arnold, thus left at liberty, moved round the opposite extremity of the ridge to co-operate with General Ochterlony, and during the march received the submission of the Rajah of Bilaspoor, as well as gained possession of the fort of Ratangerh, situated opposite to Malaun, and only separated from it by a wide and deep ravine A detachment under Colonel Cooper shortly after gained possession of Ramghur, and dispossessed the

Arrival of reinforcements

Capture of Ramghur

Ghoorkas of all their other posts in the south. Thus, by a series of skilful movements, General Ochterlony, without a direct encounter with the enemy, had obliged them to retire before him till only one place of strength within the district remained in their possession. Even this was held by a very precarious tenure, for on the 1st of April, 1815, Malaun was completely invested. An account of the subsequent operations in this quarter must in the meantime be postponed, in order to attend to the proceedings of the other two divisions of the British army. A.D 1815. Investment of Malaun.

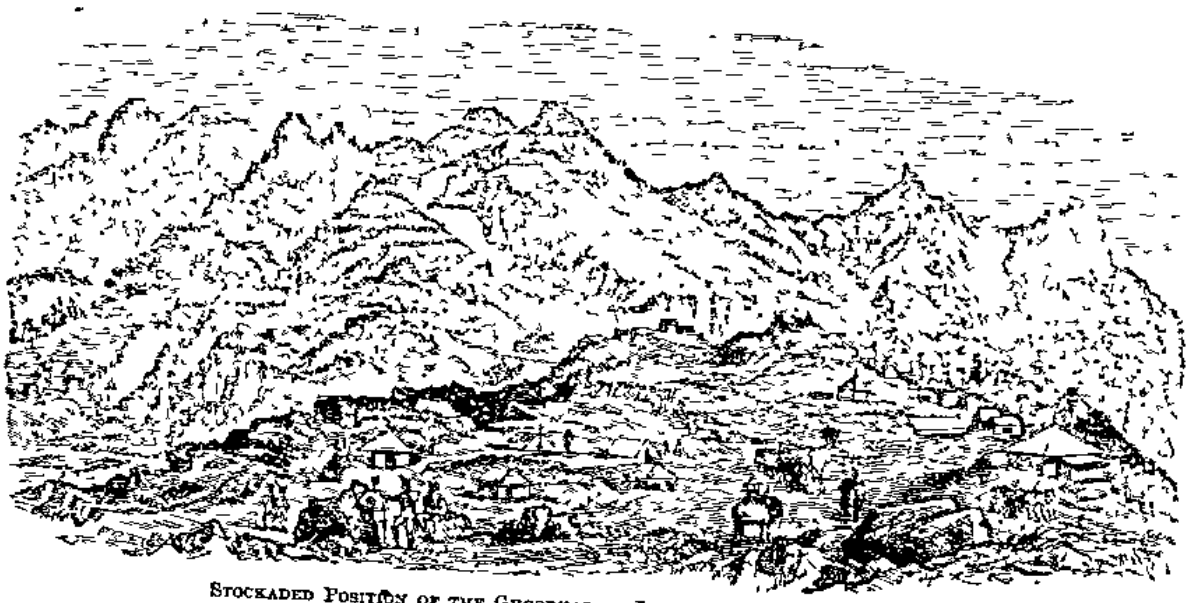
The division under General Wood was not able to take the field before the middle of December. Leaving Goruckpoor, he began his march northwards in the direction of Palpa, situated about 100 miles W.N.W. of Khatmandoo. In order to reach it by the most direct route, it was necessary to traverse a difficult mountain-pass, which was reported to be strongly stockaded, and therefore General Wood, understanding that it might be turned by following a different route, proceeded on the 3d of January, 1815, to attack the stockade of Jetpoor, at the foot of the Majkote Hills, about a mile west of Bhotwal, as in consequence of the new route which he meant to follow, it would be necessary to carry it. He accordingly advanced with twenty-one companies to attack the stockade in front, while Major Comyn was detached with seven companies to turn it on the left. As his information had been imperfect or erroneous, he encountered a determined resistance at points where he had not anticipated, and became so disheartened, that he despaired of success before there was any reasonable ground to doubt of it. He therefore not only ordered a retreat, but, assuming that his forces were inadequate to the task assigned him, abandoned all idea of offensive operations, and resolved to confine himself to the humbler task of preventing the Ghoorkas from making incursions across the frontier. Even in this he was not successful. The Ghoorkas found little difficulty in penetrating at many points and committing great devastation. Under these circumstances the best thing which occurred to him was to retaliate, and he was repeatedly seen vieing with the Ghoorkas as to the amount of injury which they could mutually inflict on the unoffending inhabitants whose misfortune it was to dwell on either side of the boundary between British India and Nepaul. After persisting for a time in this petty and ignominious warfare, the insalubrity of the climate began to tell seriously on the health of the troops, and they were finally withdrawn into cantonments at Goruckpoor. General Wood's operations. His retreat.

The division under General Marley, as it was the strongest of all the four was also the one from which the most decisive results were expected. It was directed immediately against the capital, and it was therefore presumed that if it succeeded, the Ghoorka rajah would have no alternative but to sue for peace. It assembled at Dinapore, and on the 23d of November commenced its march in the direction of Bettia. To clear the way for its advance, Major Bradshaw had been previously detached against the Ghoorka posts in the General Marley's operations.

A.D. 1814

Progress of war with the Ghoorkas

Ghoorka rajah. The revolt of the people of Jounsar thus excited, caused so much alarm that the Ghoorkas, without waiting to be attacked, hastily evacuated the stronghold of Barat. After Colonel Carpenter's return, and the capture of Kalunga, Colonel Mawbey was ordered westward into the valley of Karda, with a view to co-operate with the division under General Ochterlony. On the 20th of December Colonel Mawbey was superseded in the command by General Martindale, who, after occupying Nahan, moved to the foot of the mountain range, on the highest summit of which Fort Jytak stands, at an elevation of 5000 feet above the level of the sea. At the town of Jytak, situated at a lower level to the south of the fort, Ranjor Sing Thapa, the son of Amar Sing, the regent or minister, commanding a considerable Ghoorka force,



Stockaded Position of the Ghoorkas at Jytak.—From Prinsep's Narrative.

General Martindale repulsed at Jytak

had then his head-quarters The fort of Jytak, strongly situated in the angle where two lofty ridges met, was approached by an abrupt and rugged ascent, occasionally interrupted by ravines General Martindale, after reconnoitring, saw nothing more hopeful than to deprive the garrison of their supply of water, which appeared to be drawn from springs situated at some distance below the fort, by taking possession of a strongly stockaded post situated about a mile to the west The attack was made by two distinct columns, both of which having failed to take the enemy by surprise, were defeated in succession with severe loss. General Martindale, in consequence of this new disaster, was obliged to suspend operations and wait for reinforcements.

The division of General Ochterlony, whose sphere of action was still farther to the west, encountered difficulties which were at least equally great, and would doubtless have proved equally disastrous, had not greater skill been displayed in surmounting them The Sutlej, after a long course to the west, makes an abrupt turn to the south, and thus with its left bank forms, in

two directions, the boundary of a very rugged and mountainous country. The tract lying within the angle formed by the river in changing its course, became the scene of the military operations, in which General Ochterlony was opposed to Amar Sing Thapa, the ablest and most distinguished of the Ghoorka leaders. The division began to move in the end of October, 1814, and on the 2d of November arrived at the first and lowest of the mountain ranges. Before any further progress could be made, it was necessary to gain possession of the fort of Nalagerh, and the outwork of Taragerh, occupied by a Ghoorka garrison, and commanding the pass into the mountains. In two days, by almost incredible exertion, a battery was erected at a sufficient elevation, and opened with such effect, that on the 6th the fort was surrendered and the outwork abandoned.

A D 1814.

Operations of General Ochterlony.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY, Bart., K C B.
After a picture by Devis.

The pass being now open, no difficulty was experienced in reaching its summit; but it was only to come in sight of another obstacle of a more formidable description. This was the fort of Ramghur, seated on a mountain summit 4600 feet above the sea. Amar Sing, who had his head-quarters at Arkee, thirty miles north-east of Malaun, on learning the British advance, hastened to Ramghur with about 3000 regular troops, and encamped upon its ridge, with his right resting on the fort, and his left on a strongly stockaded hill, while stockades placed at intervals protected his whole front The position was too strong to be forced, and General Ochterlony therefore determined to turn it on the left and assail it from the rear. With this view he proceeded till he gained possession of a height seven miles north-east of Ramghur. As this position gave him a commanding view of the whole Ghoorka lines, and seemed to be the point from which it would be most easy to assail them, he determined on the erection of a battery. The labour of transporting heavy ordnance had again to be endured, and occupied twenty days. Much of it proved to be labour lost, for the battery was so distant that its fire when opened was unavailing. To remedy this blunder, Lieutenant Lawtie of the engineers was detached with a small party to select a nearer spot. He had found it, and was returning to camp, when the Ghoorkas, who had been observing his movements, descended in great force from their heights and placed themselves across his path. Fortunately a small stone inclosure was near. Here the lieutenant and his party gallantly maintained themselves, till a failure of ammunition compelled them to abandon the inclosure and run the gauntlet of the Ghoorka fire. A

Fort of Ramghur

A.D. 1814 reinforcement sent from the battery was obliged to share their flight, and a large proportion of the whole party had fallen before a strong detachment from the camp arrived, and effectually checked their pursuers. This affair, magnified by the enemy into a victory, tended to counteract the moral effect of the advantages which the division had previously gained.

Repulse at Ramghur

General Ochterlony, though aware how much the difficulties with which he had to contend could now be increased, was preparing to carry out his plan for turning the Ghoorka lines, when he received intelligence of the second serious repulse at Kalunga. Afraid that a general rising of the whole country might ensue, he deemed it prudent to abandon the offensive till new reinforcements should enable him to resume it with more certainty of success. This period of inaction was not unprofitably spent. The country as far as practicable was explored, roads practicable both for troops and artillery were formed, and some degree of discipline was given to the irregular troops of some petty rajahs, whom the presence of a British force had emboldened to throw off the Ghoorka yoke. On the 26th of December, after nearly a month had been devoted to these useful labours, the expected reinforcements arrived. They consisted of the 2d battalion of the 7th native infantry and a levy of Sikhs. General Ochterlony, feeling again strong enough, immediately resumed the offensive by sending off a detachment to spread along the enemy's rear and threaten his communications with Arkee and Bilaspoor, by occupying a low range of hills on the north-east of Ramghur. Amar Sing, alarmed at this movement, endeavoured to frustrate it by a daring attack on the detachment. The offensive, however, proved as adverse to him as it had done to the British in their encounters, and he sustained a repulse which obliged him to return to his position at Ramghur. The British general, still following out his plan, left Colonel Arnold with a division to watch the enemy's movements, and proceeded with the main body towards a mountain ridge, the occupation of which would place him between the Sutlej and the Ghoorka fort of Malaun. At the same time he sent forward about 2000 troops belonging to the petty Rajah of Hindoor, who had early joined him and rendered valuable service. These troops, under the command of Captain Ross, took possession of the heights above Bilaspoor, between whose rajah and that of Hindoor a deadly feud had long existed.

Arrival of reinforcements

Capture of Ramghur

The success of these combined movements soon appeared. Amar Sing, convinced that his position was no longer tenable, left a garrison in the fort of Ramghur, and hastened with his whole remaining force to the ridge on which Malaun stands. Colonel Arnold, thus left at liberty, moved round the opposite extremity of the ridge to co-operate with General Ochterlony, and during the march received the submission of the Rajah of Bilaspoor, as well as gained possession of the fort of Ratangerh, situated opposite to Malaun, and only separated from it by a wide and deep ravine. A detachment under Colonel Cooper shortly after gained possession of Ramghur, and dispossessed the

Ghoorkas of all their other posts in the south. Thus, by a series of skilful movements, General Ochterlony, without a direct encounter with the enemy, had obliged them to retire before him till only one place of strength within the district remained in their possession. Even this was held by a very precarious tenure, for on the 1st of April, 1815, Malaun was completely invested An account of the subsequent operations in this quarter must in the meantime be postponed, in order to attend to the proceedings of the other two divisions of the British army. A.D. 1815 Investment of Malaun.

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A D 1815. frontier forests. While thus occupied, he succeeded, on the 24th of November, in completely surprising Parsuram Thapa, the governor of the district, who was encamped on the banks of the Bhagmate with 400 men The governor himself was among the slain, and the whole force was so completely dispersed, that the other posts of the district fell without opposition; and the low swampy and unhealthy tract lying at the southern outskirts of the Himalaya, and known by the name of the Tirai, was formally annexed to the British dominions.

General Marley's operations

Their injudicious nature.

This first success, had it been properly followed up, would have been the prelude to others of still greater importance, but General Marley, though his instructions ordered him to leave his guns in the rear, till he had gained a position considerably in advance, chose to wait for them, and waste his time in other preliminary arrangements, till the advantage which might have been taken of the alarm caused by Parsuram Thapa's discomfiture was completely lost. The Ghoorkas were not long in penetrating the character of the commander to whom this division of the British troops had been intrusted, and were in consequence emboldened to undertake an enterprise which had the effect at the very outset of hampering all the future operations of the British. To secure the Tirai against any attempt that might be made to recover it before the arrival of the main body, Major Bradshaw stationed three small bodies of troops about the distance of twenty miles apart from each other; the central one at Baragerhi, another at Samanpoor on the right, and the third at Parsa on the left General Marley encamped at Lautan, only two miles west of Baragerhi, but no precaution was taken for the safety of the outposts of Samanpoor and Parsa. The result which might have been anticipated was soon realized Both posts were suddenly attacked on the 1st of January, 1815 The attack on Samanpoor was a complete surprise, and all the troops at the station were killed or dispersed. At Parsa an attack had been expected, and reinforcements which had been applied for were actually on the way, but they only arrived in time not to frustrate the attack, but merely to cover the retreat of the fugitives

General Marley's retreat

These losses, sufficiently great in themselves, were rendered disastrous by the course which they induced the commander to adopt. Alarmed at the number of desertions, and even doubtful of the fidelity of those who remained, while the terror of a Ghoorka attack, which he would be unable to resist, continually haunted him, he saw no safety but in a retrograde movement, in order to save the depôt of Bettia from capture, and give protection to the Sarum frontier His terrors preceded him, and nothing was talked of at Goruckpoor and Tirhoot but the approaching invasion of an overwhelming Ghoorka force Nothing but the weakness of the enemy prevented the catastrophe which cowardice thus predicted The effect however was to enable the Ghoorkas to recover nearly the whole of the Tirai, and to carry their incursions once more into the British territories General Marley's mode of conducting the war had

been severely condemned by the governor-general, and he had in consequence been deprived of the command. He was therefore only waiting for the arrival of his successor, General Wood, when he volunteered a stronger proof of imbecility than any he had yet furnished by suddenly disappearing from the camp before daylight, without giving the troops any notification of his intention, or even making any provision for the ordinary routine of command. The absence of such an officer could not cause any permanent inconvenience, and as the division had received reinforcements which raised it to the number of 13,000, it was now better prepared than ever for offensive operations. While the temporary command was held by Colonel Dick, an affair took place which threw the enemy into great alarm and inflicted on him considerable loss. Lieutenant Pickersgill, while engaged with a small escort in surveying, fell in with a party of 400 Ghoorkas, who in the eagerness of pursuit left the cover of the forest, and followed him in the direction of the British camp. Colonel Dick, on hearing the firing, sent forward a troop of 100 irregular horse, and followed in person with all the pickets. The Ghoorkas, totally unconscious of the snare into which they were running, no sooner saw how they had entangled themselves, than they were seized with panic, and made an ineffectual effort to escape. More than a hundred, including the commander, were killed, many in attempting to cross a stream were drowned, and the remainder were either taken prisoners or dispersed. The affair, though in itself comparatively insignificant, spread so much alarm among the Ghoorkas, that they hastily retired from their advanced posts, and allowed the Tirai to be again occupied by the British.

A.D. 1815.

Sudden disappearance of General Marley.

Considering the pusillanimous course which General Wood had followed at the head of his own division, one is at a loss to account for the infatuation which selected him for this new and more important command. When he arrived in the end of February, 1815, the unhealthy season was still a month distant, and there was therefore room for much active service. He thought otherwise, and after marching and countermarching as if for the mere purpose of assuring himself that the Ghoorkas had really abandoned the lowlands, and had no intention of disputing the possession of them, he returned to the frontier, and placed the army in cantonments. The advance on Khatmandoo, the great object of the campaign, was thus abandoned without having been once seriously attempted. In other quarters greater activity was displayed, and better results were obtained. Captain (now Major) Latter, who, with his small detachment, was stationed on the banks of the Coosy, not only accomplished the defensive object primarily contemplated, but drove the Ghoorkas from all their positions, gained possession of the province of Moorang, and formed an important alliance with the Rajah of Sikhim. In the province of Kumaon, forming the very centre of the Ghoorka conquests, successes of still greater consequence were accomplished. The Rajah Chautra Bun Sak, who had been compelled to yield to the Ghoorka yoke, was with his people groaning under it, and ready to embrace any opportunity

The advance on Khatmandoo abandoned.

A.D. 1815. the enemy was seen advancing in a semicircle along the ridge and its two declivities, so as to envelope the position and turn both its flanks. The charge was fierce and resolute, the Ghoorkas advancing to the very muzzle of the guns, and returning repeatedly to the charge in the face of showers of grape. The attack, after it had been persisted in for two hours, having slackened, Colonel Thompson, who commanded the post, seized the opportunity to order a charge with the bayonet. It was completely successful, and the Ghoorkas, unable any longer to maintain the struggle, fled in disorder. Bhakti Sing lay dead on the field with 500 of his countrymen, and Amar Sing collecting his scattered troops retired into Malaun. He was now so completely crest-fallen that he offered scarcely any resistance to the subsequent operations for completely investing it. On the 8th of May a battery of heavy guns began to play on the works, and preparations for the assault had become visible, when the great body of the garrison, unable either to induce Amar Sing to surrender or to endure the privations of a rigorous blockade, left the fort without arms, and gave themselves up to the nearest British post. As a show of resistance continued, the breaching battery again opened on the 10th. Its destructive effects convinced Amar Sing of the uselessness of further resistance, and he sent his son on the following morning to intimate his desire to negotiate. By the convention with him, it was stipulated that the Ghoorkas should cede all their territories west of the Jumna, and that he himself, and all the members of the Thapa family, together with the garrison of Malaun and part of that of Jytak, should be allowed to return to Nepaul with their personal property and their arms. Many of the privates, instead of going to Nepaul, preferred entering the British service, and were formed into battalions for duty in the highland districts.

The Ghoorkas attack on Deothul repulsed.

Capture of Malaun followed by a convention

Negotiations for peace

The government of Nepaul saw the necessity of suing for peace. With this view Bam Sak Chautra was employed to communicate with the British commissioner in Kumaon, and Gaj Raj Misr, the Gooroo or spiritual teacher of the late Rajah Rana Bahadur, was summoned from his retirement at Benares, and sent as envoy to Colonel Bradshaw, whom the governor-general had empowered to conclude a peace on the following conditions:—the cession of the hill country west of the Kalee or Gogra—the abandonment of all claims on the lands in dispute before the war commenced—the cession of the Tirai throughout its whole extent—the restoration of a tract which had been taken from the Rajah of Sikhim, now become a British ally—and the admission of a British resident at Khatmandoo. When these terms were made known to the Gooroo, he objected particularly to the cession of the Tirai, which, by stripping the nobles and ministers of their jaghires, would leave them without support, as well as deprive the country of the main source from which its supplies of grain were obtained, and the admission of a resident, who, it was feared, might repeat the course taken in Oude, and ultimately appropriate all the real powers of government. A long negotiation ensued, during which the Nepaulese showed themselves

well acquainted with all the wiles of diplomacy. Ultimately, however, every point in dispute seemed to be arranged, and on the 2d of December, 1815, the treaty was duly executed at Segoulee by the British agent and the Nepaulese commissioners, the latter promising that the ratification would be returned from Khatmandoo in fifteen days. The governor-general, flattering himself that a war of which he had become heartily tired was now advantageously ended, ratified the treaty on the 9th of December. The Rajah of Nepaul took the matter more coolly, and instead of the ratification, the commissioners received a letter from the regent, informing them that through the influence of Amar Sing Thapa the war party was again in the ascendant. After such an evasion, it might have seemed that the only dignified course left was to declare the negotiation at an end and recommence hostilities. Strange to say, the governor-general was now of a spirit so different from that which he had displayed at the outset, that he allowed his agent almost to solicit the ratification, by holding out hopes that, if it were given, the terms of the treaty would not be rigorously enforced. It appears, in fact, that he was now willing not only to leave the Nepaulese in possession of the Tirai, but to make them a present of the very districts which had been the whole cause of the war. The ground on which the governor-general justified this extraordinary concession was, that the districts, though worth fighting for as a point of honour, were otherwise of no real value, and therefore, after the Nepaulese had yielded the point of honour by ceasing to claim them as a right, nothing was lost by allowing them to resume possession of them as a favour. Surely if the districts were so worthless, the point of honour supposed to be involved might, and ought to have been satisfied by some milder method than a bloody and protracted war.

A.D. 1816.

Treaty concluded but not ratified by the Nepaulese

The relaxation of demands by the governor-general at the very time when the prevaricating conduct of the Nepaulese government made it more than ever imperative to insist upon them, produced the result which has almost invariably been realized when negotiating with native states. Moderation was mistaken for conscious weakness, and the court of Khatmandoo, which had previously been willing to purchase peace on any terms, began to question the propriety of even desiring it. The negotiation was indeed nominally continued, but every day made it more and more apparent that the real object was to spin out the time till the proper season for action had passed away. This conviction having at length forced itself on the governor-general, he ordered hostilities to be vigorously renewed. General (now Sir David) Ochterlony, having been vested with the chief command, political as well as military, took the field in the beginning of February, 1816, with an army of nearly 17,000 men, which he arranged in four brigades. One of these he detached by the right to penetrate by Harikurpoor, and another to the left to penetrate by Ramnuggur, while with the other two he set out on the 12th of February, and marched

Renewal of hostilities.

A D. 1816.

through the forest to the foot of the Chiriaghati Pass. This pass, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent, was not only difficult in itself from natural obstacles, but was defended by successive tiers of stockades. It could hardly have been forced at all, and certainly not without a very serious loss. Fortunately another pass was discovered, which, though even more difficult than the other, presented the great advantage of being undefended. It was a deep ravine, with rugged and precipitous sides, covered with overhanging trees, which nearly excluded the light. At night on the 14th of February, Sir David

The Chiriaghati Pass left unattempted



Defile by which General Ochterlony turned the Chiriaghati Pass.
From Prinsep's Narrative of the Political and Military Transactions of India under the Marquis of Hastings

General Ochterlony makes his way by an other pass

Ochterlony, leaving the fourth brigade at the mouth of the ravine, began to ascend it with the third brigade, he himself leading at the head of his majesty's 87th regiment, by a path so narrow as seldom to afford room for more than a single file After proceeding thus for some distance, the ground became more open, till a water-course was entered, and found to lead to the base of a steep acclivity about 300 feet high. With infinite difficulty, by laying hold of boughs and projecting rocks, the advance clambered up, and by eight in the morning had gained the summit It was ten at night before the rest of the troops and two field-pieces were got up. The three following days were spent by the pioneers in making the ascent practicable for the conveyance of stores and ammunition, but the main difficulty had now been overcome, and the troops were able to advance without encountering any very serious obstacle On the day after the ascent the general arrived at Hetaunda on the banks of the Raptee, and was delighted by the junction of the 4th brigade The Ghoorkas, on finding that the Chiriaghati Pass was turned, had abandoned their stockades, and allowed the brigade to ascend without opposition.

On the 27th of February Sir David Ochterlony arrived in the vicinity of Mukwanpoor, and encamped on a level about two miles to the south of its

A D 1816

fortified heights A village on the left, which a strong detachment of the enemy had abandoned, was immediately occupied, but only to become the scene of a desperate struggle, for the enemy, apparently convinced that they had done wrong in retiring, no sooner saw the position occupied than they returned to attempt the recovery of it. As it was only held by three companies of native infantry and forty men of the 87th, the assailants probably anticipated an easy conquest, but reinforcements continued to pour in from both sides, till the engagement became almost general. The Ghoorkas sent down at least 2000 men from the heights. All their efforts, however, though made and maintained with their usual dauntless valour, proved unavailing, and they were finally repulsed with a very heavy loss. On the day after this affair the first brigade, under Colonel Nicolls, arrived. It had ascended by a pass to the north of Ramnuggur, and then marched without opposition up the valley of the Raptee. The second brigade, under Colonel Kelly, was also advancing. It had arrived at the fort of Harikurpoor by selecting a mountain pass which was not stockaded, and almost immediately gained a commanding position, from which the Ghoorkas endeavoured in vain to dislodge it This failure so disheartened the garrison of the fort that it was forthwith evacuated without further struggle.

Further successes of General Ochterlony.

The treaty of peace ratified by the Nepaulese.

The successes with which the new campaign had opened had changed the views of the Nepaulese chiefs, and the peace party once more predominated. Hence, as Sir David Ochterlony was preparing for the siege of Mukwanpoor, the commandant, who was a brother of the regent, sent a messenger to intimate to him that he had received the ratified treaty from Khatmandoo, and requested permission to send it to him in charge of an agent. On the 3d of March the agent arrived, and as the document was duly executed, hostilities of course ceased, but not till consent had been given to an additional article, which stipulated that the ceded territory should include the valley of the Raptee, and whatever had been conquered during the actual campaign. At the time when the cession of the Tirai was demanded by the British government, the objection that it would leave many of the principal chiefs without the means of support was met by a proposal from the governor-general to grant pensions to those whom the cession would deprive of their jaghires. This proposal was submitted to with great reluctance, because, as it was justly argued, the pensioned lords would be more likely to favour British interests than those of their own sovereign. Much gratification was therefore felt by the rajah when the Honourable Mr. Gardner, who had been appointed British resident at Khatmandoo, was authorized by the governor-general to propose that the pensions should be commuted for a grant of lands. The arrangement was at once entered into, and the Nepaulese, who had previously been gratuitously reinstated in the Tirai, could henceforth boast that, after all the disasters which the war had caused them, they remained at the conclusion of it in possession of a portion of the very lands which it was the avowed object of the war to wrest from them.

A.D. 1816.

Result of the Nepaulese war.

It must still be admitted that after all these cessions, considerable territorial acquisitions remained with the Company. The magnificent provinces of Kumaon and Ghurwal had been formally annexed to the British dominions, and several hill rajahs, though left nominally independent, were placed under restrictions which made all their military resources available for British purposes. The treaty with the Rajah of Sikhim was also an excellent stroke of policy, as it interposed an insurmountable barrier between Nepaul and Bootan, and thus made it impossible for these two states to go to war with each other, as they ceased to be contiguous, and therefore could not engage in hostilities without violating territory which belonged to the Company, or which the Company was pledged to protect. There can scarcely be a doubt that, but for this interposition of Sikhim, the Ghoorkas, when deprived of their western conquests, would have endeavoured to compensate themselves by the subjugation of Bootan.

Missions of the Ghoorkas to foreign courts.

Though the war never extended beyond the territories belonging to or claimed by Nepaul, the Ghoorkas, when they commenced hostilities, were not without the hope of being joined by powerful allies They had made application in every quarter which gave any promise of success. A correspondence between Scindia and the Ghoorka government was actually intercepted. The Pindarees were also applied to, and Runjeet Sing was tempted by the offer of a large sum, together with the fort of Malaun, in return for his assistance During the early reverses which the British arms sustained, the Ghoorkas flattered themselves with the hope of a general rising among the native powers of Hindoostan They did not even confine to India their applications for aid, but sent a mission to the court of Ava and endeavoured to engage the Emperor of China in their quarrel. They had, as already explained, acknowledged themselves to be the emperor's tributaries, and partly on this ground, and still more on the false allegation that the English were making war upon them, merely because they had refused them a passage into the Chinese territory, they earnestly solicited him to assist them, either with money or with an army. The Chinese, though doubting the truth of this statement, indulged their naturally suspicious temper so far as to send an army to the frontier. It did not arrive, however, till hostilities were at an end, and the governor-general had, by explanation, convinced the Chinese authorities that the Ghoorka statement as to the cause of the war was unfounded. Their own shrewdness, indeed, had previously led them to the same conclusion. "Such absurd measures as those alluded to," they observed, "appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English;" and the Ghoorka statement was declared to be manifestly false, because the English, if they had wished to invade the Chinese dominions, could have found a nearer route than through Nepaul The authorities in England, though doubtful at first of the necessity of the war, and of the wisdom of the plan adopted in conducting it, were delighted with the final result. The crown testified approbation by conferring on the governor general the title of

Marquis of Hastings, and on the commander the baronetage already mentioned, A.D. 1813.
while the courts of directors and proprietors not only concurred in unanimous votes of thanks to them and the officers and men engaged, but bestowed on Sir David Ochterlony a well-earned pension of £1000 a year.

During the war in Nepaul, transactions of some importance took place in other quarters. The native state of Cutch, consisting of a kind of peninsula, connected with Scinde on the north and with Gujerat on the east by a very extensive salt marsh called the Ran or Runn, and bounded on the south by the Gulf of Cutch, and on the west by the Indian Ocean, was nominally under the government of a ruler with the title of Row Raidhan, but had become really subject to two adventurers, the one Hans-raj, a Hindoo merchant, and the other Futteh Mahomed, the commander of a body of Arab mercenaries. The two, in their struggle for supremacy, courted the interference of the British government, which, however, interposed only so far as seemed necessary to protect the territories of the Guicowar from Cutch depredation. The contest seemed terminated by the death of Hans-raj in 1809, and the consequent undisputed ascendency of his competitor, but in 1813 the confusion became worse than ever. In that year, both Futteh Mahomed and the Row died, and the succession was disputed. The Row, who had embraced Mahometanism, left a son, Bharmalji, by a Mahometan wife. The Jhaneja Rajpoot, of whom the Row was the head, refused to acknowledge his legitimacy, and gave their allegiance to Lakpati, the late Row's nephew. The civil war which ensued was thus partly of a religious character, and continued to rage with such alternations of success, that regular government almost ceased to exist. The chiefs therefore followed their natural bent, and not satisfied with the narrow limits of Cutch, crossed the Runn on foot and the gulf in boats, and carried their depredations over the whole of the adjoining territory, carrying off the cattle, burning the villages, and murdering the inhabitants. As the Guicowar, whose territory was thus ravaged, was an ally of the British and under their protection, it became necessary, after remonstrance had proved in vain, to send a body of troops against Bhooj, the capital of Cutch. Here both the competitors for the throne were resident. They had cemented their quarrel by a compromise which left Bharmalji in possession of the sovereignty; but the anarchy which previously prevailed was scarcely diminished, since the new sovereign, so far from suppressing the marauders, made common cause with them, and even

State of affairs in Cutch.



ARAB MERCENARIES IN PAY OF THE ROW OF CUTCH.
From Mrs. Postans's Cutch.

British interference

A.D. 1816. fomented disturbances in Kattiwar, the province of Gujerat immediately opposite to the Gulf of Cutch. His defiance, indeed, was so openly declared, that he ordered a native agent whom the British had stationed in Bhooj to withdraw, and had a large body of Arabs on the march to assist the rebels in Kattiwar, when they learned that the rebellion was suppressed.

British interposition in affairs of Cutch.

Colonel East, by whose exertions a rebellion, which thus threatened to assume more formidable dimensions, had been nipped in the bud, was directed to advance into Cutch for the purpose of punishing this overt act of hostility, and taking such measures as might be necessary to prevent a repetition of it. In pursuance of these objects he crossed the Runn in December, 1815, and proceeded towards Anjar. It was held by a son of the late Futteh Mahomed, who made friendly professions, and at the same time gave the lie to them, by ordering the wells on the British line of march to be poisoned. To punish his treachery, batteries were erected against his fort, and when a practicable breach was effected, he only saved himself from worse consequences by surrendering Anjar, and ceding along with it the small port of Juner, on the Gulf of Cutch.

Military operations

The Row, deterred by this first result of the campaign, prevented the capture of his capital by a timely submission, and entered into a treaty which bound him not only to defray the expenses of the war, and compensate for the devastations of his marauders, but to assist in putting them down, and acknowledge himself a British tributary by the annual payment of £7000. In return he was taken under British protection, and established in full possession of the districts which refractory chiefs had wrested from him. After the pacification of Cutch, Colonel East returned to Kattiwar, and took the most effectual method of suppressing the piracy for which the Gulf of Cutch had long been notorious, by dispossessing the chiefs along its southern shore, and subjecting their harbours and strongholds to British authority. Among the places captured on this occasion was Dwaraka, situated near the north-west extremity of the Kattiwar peninsula, and famous throughout India for its great temple of Krishna.

Pacification of Cutch.

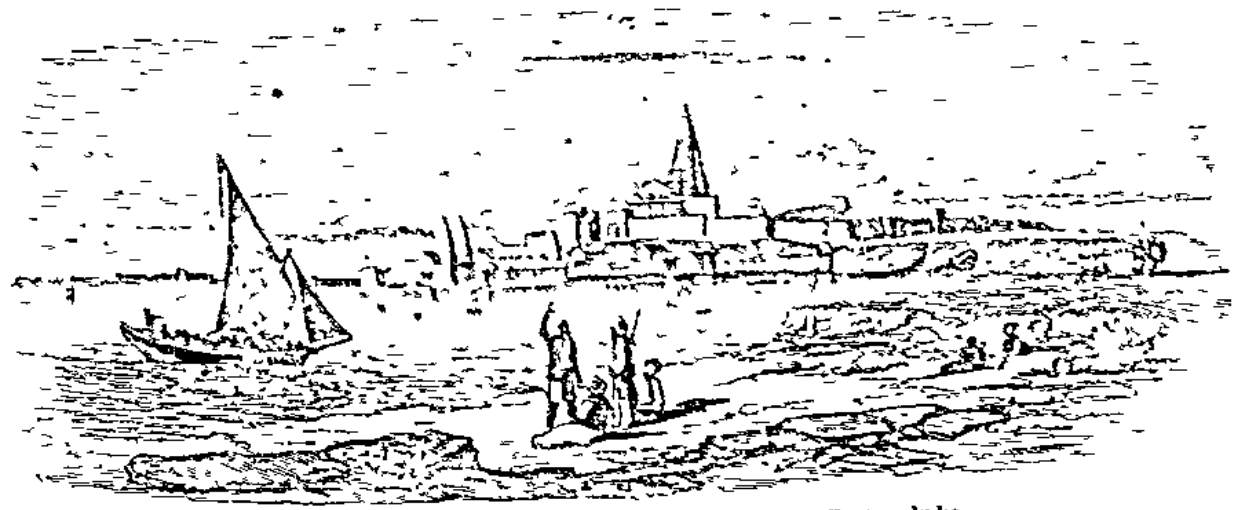
The next scene of disturbance requiring notice is Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam. Under the arrangement which had given the chief management of affairs to Chandu Lal, and rendered him at the same time completely subservient to the British resident, the Nizam, and his favourite minister Moonir-ul-Moolk, had ceased to interfere in public business, and found more congenial employment in grovelling indulgences. The Nizam's sons did not bear their exclusion from office so coolly, and compensated themselves by becoming the heads of riotous brawlers and contending factions. The two youngest sons in particular, surrounded by a band of profligate retainers, kept the city in constant alarm by their lawless proceedings. The Nizam would rather not have interfered, but the remonstrances of the resident obliged him to bestir himself, and he issued orders that the necessary steps should be taken to restrain them. The body of troops sent for this purpose found the task more difficult than had been

State of the Nizam's dominions.

anticipated. On approaching the palace, the retainers of the princes opened a heavy fire, and killed a British officer of the resident's escort. In the struggle which ensued, the defence of the princes was so well maintained, that the British detachment, after blowing open the palace gates, were unable to advance, and deemed it prudent to retire for reinforcements. During the ensuing night the whole city was in commotion, and courtiers were not wanting to advise the Nizam that he could not do better than free himself at once from the British yoke, by overwhelming the troops at the residency before the reinforcements

A.D. 1813

Insurrection at Hyderabad



TOWN AND TEMPLES OF DWARAKA.—From Grindlay's Scenery of Western India.

could arrive. He listened to better advice, and instead of taking a course by which he must inevitably have been ruined, by withdrawing all countenance from the princes, he made them aware of the gulf on which they stood, and convinced them that they had no alternative but to submit. They were obliged notwithstanding to pay the penalty of their misconduct, and were confined in the old fortress of Golconda.

Another disturbance, originating in more trivial causes, threatened to produce more serious results. The inhabitants of India dread nothing so much as innovation, and have an especial abhorrence of taxation, when it presents itself under a new form. This latter feeling receives an easy explanation, when it is remembered how much they have suffered from the extortion of their rulers, and how often occasion has been taken to convert some small assessment, imposed ostensibly for some distinct and temporary purpose, into a permanent, indefinite, and oppressive burden. The land had always been the main source of revenue, and the share of its produce demanded by government, though often oppressive in its amount, was seldom openly resisted. The payment of it was looked upon as a kind of law of nature, and, however much it might be grumbled at, excited neither disappointment nor indignation. With a new tax the case was entirely different, and hence, when the government of Bengal in 1813, during the administration of Lord Minto, endeavoured to increase the revenue

Opposition of the Hindoos to new taxation

A D. 1814

by a house tax, the opposition was so general and determined, that nothing but a repeal could quiet it. At Benares, in particular, the inhabitants desisted from their ordinary employments, shut their shops, and encamping in the open fields at a short distance from the city, sent a petition to the magistrate, in which they declared that they would never return to their homes till the tax was removed. This passive resistance was more effectual than any violent outbreak could have been in convincing the government of the necessity of yielding, and the idea of increasing the public revenue by a house tax was abandoned.

Passive resistance to taxation at Benares

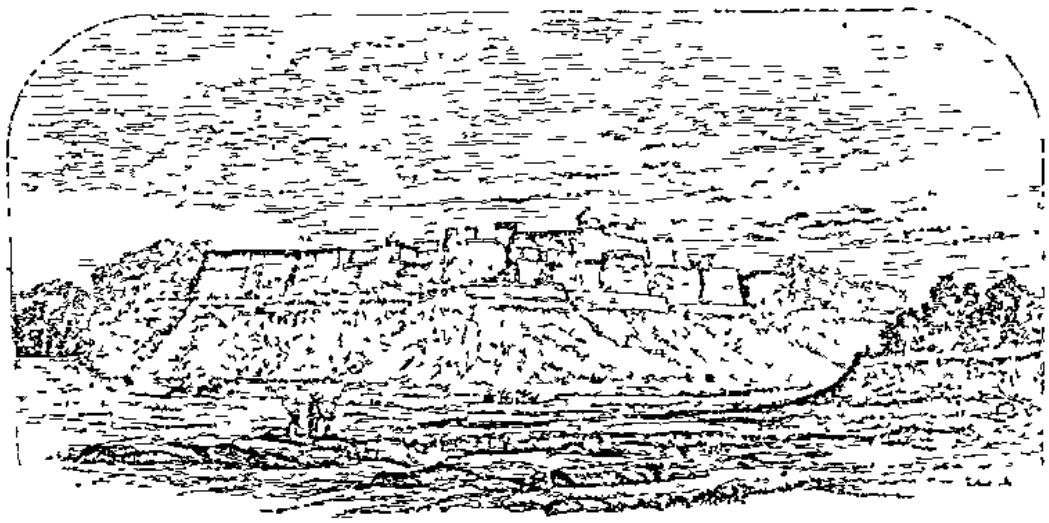
Government though defeated was very unwilling to acknowledge it, and in the following year endeavoured to establish the principle of a house assessment by confining it to police purposes, and giving it the form of a voluntary payment, by leaving it to the inhabitants to assess themselves in their different wards by means of committees of their own selection. At first, the only cities so assessed were Dacca, Patna, and Moorshedabad, but when the precedent was by this means secured, the sphere of its operation was largely extended, and embraced, in addition to the lower provinces, the districts of Benares and Bareilly. Though strong dissatisfaction with the assessment was generally felt, Benares was contented to rest satisfied with its former victory, and consented, not without manifest repugnance, to pay its quota of assessment. The opposition of Bareilly was not so easily overcome. This city, situated not far from the centre of the Rohilla country, contained among its inhabitants not a few families who had fallen from high rank and wealth into comparative insignificance, and could trace their sad reverse of fortune to the iniquitous bargain by which Warren Hastings sold them to the Nabob of Oude. The injustice which they had suffered on this and on other occasions still rankled in their hearts, and as it was impossible that they could feel any real attachment to a government which had so used them, they were ready to lay hold of any real or imaginary grievance which would enable them to give free vent to their dissatisfaction. The military and turbulent propensities of the population generally, easily induced them to take part in any commotion however occasioned, and there were besides several local causes of animosity. The *kotwal*, or head of the police, obnoxious to the Mahometans merely because he was a Hindoo, had made himself generally detested by his overbearing conduct, and the British magistrate, instead of conciliating good-will by frank and courteous manners, had acted as if he thought that his dignity could only be preserved by distant and haughty airs, which so offended the more respectable native families, that they kept aloof from all friendly intercourse with him The materials being thus prepared, any spark was sufficient to excite the conflagration.

Open resistance at Bareilly

An assessment for municipal police was not an absolute novelty in Bareilly. In the principal thoroughfares the shopkeepers had been accustomed to provide for the security of their property by a moderate police rate. On their part, then, the only objection felt to the rate was its increased amount. This was

A D 1815. marches from Moradabad. Meantime a parley with the insurgents took place, and the mufti would gladly have escaped from the storm which he had raised.

Insurrection at Bareilly. It was beyond his power, and the insurgents, left to their own guidance, dictated as their only terms that the tax should be abolished—that the kotwal should be delivered up to punishment for the blood which had been shed—that the families of the sufferers should be provided for—and that a general amnesty should be proclaimed. As these terms were at once refused, the rioters lost not a moment in proceeding to extremes, by *shooting down a youth*, the son of one of the judges of the circuit court, as he was passing unarmed from one



Hathas, the Fort of Dyaram, 1817.—From Journal of a Route across India, &c., by Lieut.-colonel Fitzclarence

military post to another, and then making a sudden onset on the troops within the town before the expected reinforcements arrived. The result was not long doubtful. The insurgents, first resisted and then pursued, fled, leaving behind them about 400 dead, and a greater number of wounded and prisoners. The defeat was most opportune, as there cannot be a doubt that a first success on the part of the populace would have been followed by a general rising. No attempt was made to renew the conflict. The mufti and other ringleaders escaping beyond the Company's bounds were not sought after, and the few trials which took place terminated without conviction, either from want of evidence or because leniency seemed preferable to severity.

Disturbances in the Doab. Before resuming the general narrative there is only one other disturbance which requires to be noticed at present. The locality was the Doab. The talookdars there had managed, during the anarchy which prevailed, to seize large tracts of property to which they had no legal claim, and to exercise powers of jurisdiction which converted them into petty sovereigns. Under the license thus permitted them they had multiplied the numbers of their military retainers, and erected forts which they held as their own in defiance of all authority. The confusion and oppression which ensued may easily be imagined. The people

appealed in vain to the paramount power, and it was soon seen that all efforts to relieve them would be unavailing, unless the strongholds in which their oppressors had entrenched themselves were dismantled. It was necessary to begin with an example, and for this purpose Dyaram, as zeminadar or talookdar of Hatras and various other districts, was selected as at once one of the largest and most refractory. His capital of Hatras, situated in the district of Alighur, about thirty miles north of Agra, consisted as usual of a town and a fort, the former inclosed by a wall and a ditch, and the latter perched on an eminence, and so fortified with walls, towers, and bastions, as to be regarded as a place of considerable strength. Dyaram's whole force was about 3500 cavalry and 4500 infantry. He made a ready profession of allegiance to the British government, but on being called to give a proof of it by disbanding his troops and dismantling his fort, gave an answer which showed that nothing short of compulsion would suffice. A strong division under General Marshall accordingly marched against Hatras, and completely invested it on the 12th of February, 1816. By the 23d the walls of the town were effectually breached, but the garrison, on seeing preparations to storm, retreated into the fort. The siege of it was immediately commenced by the erection of powerful batteries, which opened their fire from numerous mortars and breaching-guns with such destructive effect, that Dyaram saw the uselessness of further defence. This conviction was hastened by a tremendous explosion, caused by the falling of a shell upon a powder magazine; and at midnight of the 2d of March he consulted his own safety by quitting the fort with a small body of retainers, who, though discovered, and attacked by a body of dragoons, fought their way, and made good their retreat, after inflicting more loss than they received. This success was attributed not more to their courage than to the completeness of their armour, consisting partly of back and breast plates, and gauntlets of steel. After Dyaram's escape little resistance was offered, and the capture and demolition of the fort produced such an effect on the other talookdars, that they hastened to give in their submission.

A.D. 1816.

Capture of Hatras.

CHAPTER II.

Determination to put down the predatory system—Relations between the Guicowar and the Peishwa—Mission of Gungadhur Sastree—His assassination—Trimbukjee Dainglia, the Peishwa's favourite, accused and imprisoned at Tanna—Proposed alliance with the Nabobs of Bhopaul and Sangur—Subsidiary alliance with Nagpoor—The Pindarees—Their origin—Their leaders—Their system of plunder—The governor-general's policy in regard to them—New treaty with Scindia—New alliances—Apa Sahib, Rajah of Berar—Trimbukjee Dainglia escapes from Tanna—Proceedings at Poonah—New treaty with the Peishwa.

AT the time when the Nepaulese war commenced it was foreseen that in various other quarters hostilities could not be distant. The policy of non-interference had accomplished the short-sighted and selfish views which had led to its adoption. It had indeed left the native states to carry on their quarrels in their own way, and thus involved them in interminable intestine dissensions, but it had not thereby secured the territories of the Company from aggression, or enabled them to dispense with a large military establishment. While the strong were permitted with impunity to prey upon the weak, and none felt secure but those who were able to repel force by force, all idea of amicable and legal settlement was necessarily abandoned, and a species of general anarchy prevailed. As a necessary consequence the predatory system, which had always been one of the greatest curses of India, received a new development; and bands of armed marauders were rapidly spreading over the whole country. Wherever there was a hope of plunder, they were sure to be found adding to the general confusion and committing fearful devastation. For a time the awe which the Company's arms had inspired deterred the marauders from venturing on incursions into their territories. It was impossible, however, that it could operate as a permanent restraint, and as soon as the means of plunder became deficient in the parts of Central India where the principal predatory hordes had established their head-quarters, the Company's frontier was no longer held sacred, and both their allies and their immediate subjects were pillaged without mercy. The policy previously in fashion, when it became necessary to provide against these destructive inroads, gave the preference to defensive operations, and an attempt was made to establish a line of posts to guard the points where it seemed probable that the marauders would attempt to break through. The futility of this plan was soon demonstrated. It was impossible thus to guard the frontier, and had it been possible, the permanent expense which it entailed was far greater than would suffice to follow the marauders into their own haunts and con-

A D 1813

Effect of the policy of non interference

Necessity of abandoning it

A D 1814

prime minister, followed of course in the footsteps of his master, and was a strenuous supporter of the British alliance. On the other hand Sitaram, who had previously held the office of minister and been discarded for incapacity, headed the opposition party, and being strongly supported by female influence in the palace, continued to cherish the hope of regaining his lost position. With this view he paid great court to the Peishwa, and laboured to convince him that if he were restored to power he would at once satisfy all his claims It was probably in consequence of these representations that the Peishwa became anxious for the removal of Gungadhur Sastree from the Guicowar's court The pretext employed was the slow progress made in the settlement of the claims. If, instead of corresponding by letter, the Sastree would come to Poonah and confer personally on the subject, there was ground to hope that many of the difficulties which now stood in the way would be easily removed The proposal, when made by the Peishwa, seemed so plausible that the British government at once acquiesced Gungadhur Sastree was more doubtful. He not only suspected an intrigue, but feared for his life, and therefore refused to set out until he obtained from the resident a guarantee of his personal safety.

State of parties at the court of the Guicowar

Trimbukjee Dainglia, Peishwa's favourite

Gungadhur Sastree's fears were by no means unreasonable, for the Peishwa, Bajee Row, who had never before given his confidence to any man, had at last fallen under the ascendency of an unprincipled adventurer. This was Trimbukjee Dainglia. He had commenced life as a courier and a spy, and after attracting the Peishwa's notice, had risen rapidly in his favour by ministering to his licentious pleasures, and showing himself ready on all occasions to execute his orders without fear or scruple. When the Guicowar's lease of the moiety of Ahmedabad expired, and the Peishwa refused to renew it, the administration was committed to Trimbukjee, who immediately sent some of his own creatures to levy it. This first step of promotion was soon followed by his appointment to the command of the Peishwa's contingent, and his introduction by the Peishwa himself to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, the resident at Poonah, as a person high in his confidence Trimbukjee's arrogance kept pace with his elevation, and he forthwith began to take such an active and prominent part in all public business, as showed that whatever his nominal position might be, he considered himself as virtually at the head of the government. Thus installed, he made no secret of the course of policy which he was resolved to pursue The Peishwa must again resume his place as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, his claims, even to the extent of demanding chout from Bengal, were to be boldly maintained; and British influence, as the great obstacle to the realization of these schemes, must either be secretly undermined or forcibly overthrown. So little, indeed, was Trimbukjee at pains to disguise his intentions, that Mr. Elphinstone had no difficulty in predicting a rupture with the Peishwa, as the inevitable result of the schemes into which his favourite was hurrying him.

A D 1814.

Shortly after the arrival of Gungadhur Sastree at Poonah, two individuals, known to be in the interest of his rival Sitaram, made their appearance there, and were openly and favourably received at the public audience. They claimed authority to act, and produced as their credentials a letter which the imbecile Guicowar had been induced to write in their favour. The resident lost no time in remonstrating against their reception, but his objections were overruled, and Sitaram's intrigue continued to prosper. Under such circumstances the conference to which Gungadhur Sastree had been invited became a mere mockery, and he announced his desire to return to Baroda. Had he done so, the intrigue which had been commenced there simultaneously with that at Poonah, would in all probability have been frustrated, and it was therefore determined to detain him. This could only be effected by convincing him that the object of his visit might yet be accomplished. The obstacles he was assured were only temporary, and by the exercise of a little patience everything might be satisfactorily arranged To give effect to this representation, the treatment of which he complained was reversed, the utmost deference was paid to his opinions; his vanity, said to have been his greatest failing, was flattered in every possible way; and the cold and distant manner both of Trimbukjee and his master was exchanged for one expressive of the fullest confidence and friendship.

Futile negotiations at Poonah

The suddenness of the change justified suspicion, and Mr. Elphinstone was so little imposed upon that he refused any longer to countenance the negotiation. On Gungadhur Sastree himself the impression was very different, and he became so confident of a successful result, that after applying for recall, he actually petitioned for permission to remain. It was granted—and he continued the negotiation more on his own responsibility than with any concurrence on the part of the British government. In a short time he seemed to have sworn an eternal friendship with Trimbukjee They were constantly in each other's society, and so completely unbosomed their secrets that Trimbukjee, to show how much his feelings towards his friend had altered, could not refrain from confessing to him that he had at one time entertained designs upon his life. Such a confession, so far from opening the Sastree's eyes to the danger of the new connections he had formed, only seemed to him to furnish additional evidence of the sincere friendship which was now felt for him. The Peishwa completed his delusion by courting affinity with him, and agreeing to give his wife's sister in marriage to Gungadhur Sastree's son

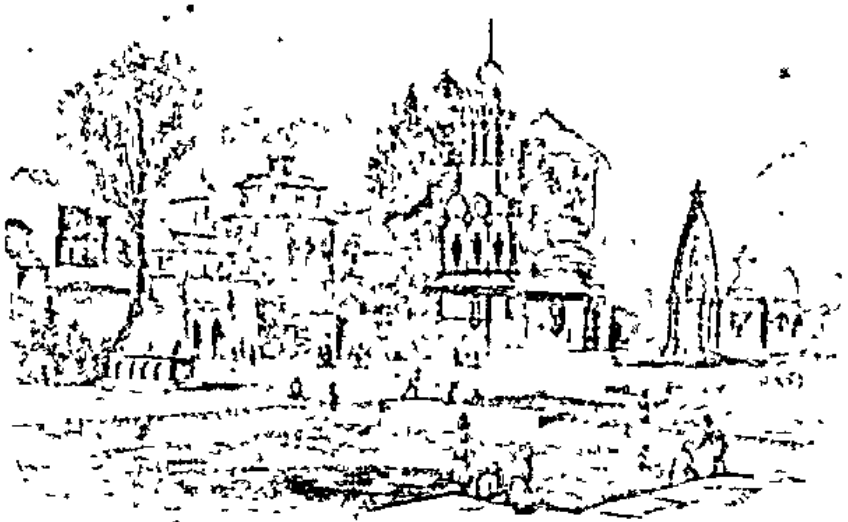
Trimbukjee's duplicity

It does not seem that all this flattery had shaken Gungadhur Sastree's fidelity to his own master. He had indeed agreed to a settlement by which the Peishwa was to compromise all his claims on the Guicowar for the cession of as much territory as would yield seven lacs of revenue; but in this, so far from sacrificing the Guicowar's interest, he had made a far better bargain for him than could have been anticipated. From some cause, however, not easily

Gungadhur Sastree's entanglements.

A D 1814. explained, Futteh Sing, when the settlement was submitted to him, refused to ratify it, and declared his determination to make no cession of territory whatever. In this dilemma Gungadhur Sastree took the course which was the easiest at the time, but was sure to prove the most difficult in the end. He concealed the fact of Futteh Sing's refusal, and had recourse to a series of evasions for the purpose of accounting for the non-ratification. Nor was this all The proposed marriage was understood to be so completely arranged that Bajee Row set out with his family for Nassik, a celebrated Hindoo pilgrimage, situated 100 miles north of Poonah, with the intention of preparing for its

Gungadhur Sastree's entanglements.



Nassik on the Godavari — From Daniell's Oriental Annual, 1840

celebration there Though there does not seem to be any necessary connection between the marriage and the settlement, Gungadhur Sastree had determined that the one should not take place without the other, and he was thus by his evasions allowing the Peishwa to proceed with preparations for a marriage which was not to be celebrated Accordingly, when the truth could no longer be concealed, and the necessary explanations took place, Bajee Row doubtless felt that he had been personally insulted. The resentment which he felt must have been greatly increased when Gungadhur Sastree had the manliness to tell the Peishwa that he could not allow his wife to visit at the palace of Poonah, in consequence of the notorious licentiousness which was permitted within it.

His courageous statement to the Peishwa

Thus become the object of resentment to a prince who was never known to forgive an injury, Gungadhur Sastree ought not to have lost a moment in hastening back to Baroda He must have been aware of the deadly offence he had given, and yet he continued to linger on in the belief that the professions of friendship which continued to be lavished on him must be sincere His intimacy with Trimbukjee continued apparently on the same footing as before,

and hence, after the pilgrimage to Nassik was completed, he at once accepted an invitation to accompany the Peishwa to Punderpoor, another celebrated place of pilgrimage, situated on the Beema, 112 miles south-east of Poonah. As if the circumstances which ought to have increased his caution had only increased his confidence, he left the greater part of his escort behind, and took only a few necessary attendants along with him. Proceeding thus in company with the Peishwa and Trimbukjee, he arrived with them at Punderpoor on the 14th of July, 1815. After an entertainment given on that day by Trimbukjee, he returned home somewhat indisposed, and left orders that if an invitation to the temple arrived, the answer should be given that he was unwell, and unable to attend. Shortly afterwards a messenger from Trimbukjee arrived with the invitation. When the excuse was made, the invitation was repeated, with the addition that, as the crowd had retired, he had better come immediately with a small retinue. He still refused, but sent two of his attendants more fully to explain the reason. On a third invitation, still more urgent, the fear of giving offence overcame his reluctance, and he set out with only seven unarmed attendants. This sealed his fate. After performing his devotions, and conversing for some time with Trimbukjee, he had just left the temple to return home when three men came running from behind, and calling out to clear the way. The moment they reached him one of them struck him with what seemed to be only a twisted cloth, but had concealed a sword. Others immediately followed up the blow, and in a few minutes he was a mangled corpse.

A.D. 1815.

Barbarous murder of Gungadhur Sastree

The circumstances under which this atrocious murder had been committed left no doubt as to the perpetrators of it. Trimbukjee Dainglia, acting with the knowledge, and probably by the express orders of the Peishwa, had arranged the whole plot, and carried it out to its horrid consummation. His repeated urgency had almost forced the Sastree to visit the temple; he had met him there as if for the express purpose of superintending the final arrangements, the murderers appear just to have left him when they issued from the temple to do the deed; and he was still there when they returned to it, with the bloody swords in their hands, to announce that it was done. Could there have been any doubt on the subject, it would have been removed by Trimbukjee's subsequent conduct. The actual assassins, though they might easily have been seized at the time, were permitted to escape: no search was made for them, and orders were even issued that the subject should not be publicly talked of. Mr. Elphinstone, who had accompanied the Peishwa to Nassik, and seen enough to satisfy him that his presence was no longer desired, had turned aside to visit the caves at Ellora, and was there when the news of the murder reached him. The necessity of immediate action being apparent, he at once addressed a letter to the Peishwa, demanding a rigorous investigation, and the speedy punishment of the murderers. Common justice required this—the Peishwa, for his own

Perpetrators of the crime

A D 1815

vindication, could not do less, and nothing less would satisfy the British government, which would proceed to any extremes sooner than stain its honour by overlooking the barbarous murder of an ambassador whose personal safety it had guaranteed.

The British resident at Poonah accuses Trimbukjee of Gungad hur Sastree's murder

Mr. Elphinstone, after preparing for the worst by ordering the division of the Hyderabad force stationed at Jaulna to advance to Seroor, only forty miles north-east of Poonah, hastened towards this capital, and reached it on the 6th of August. Trimbukjee arrived on the following day from Punderpoor. The Peishwa followed on the 9th, but apparently so overcome by alarm and conscious guilt, that though it was the festival of the Dakshin, when thousands of Brahmins were assembled to receive a wonted largess from his hands, he entered the city by stealth, under cover of the night in a close palanquin. The resident's inquiries had in the meantime fully confirmed his worst suspicions, and there could be no doubt as to the accuracy of the universal belief, that Bajee Row had sanctioned and Trimbukjee directly superintended the assassination of the Sastree. It was however deemed politic to refrain from charging the Peishwa, and to accuse only Trimbukjee. On the 11th of August, Mr. Elphinstone demanded an audience, but being refused on various pretexts, he procured the delivery of a memorial, in which, after recapitulating the evidence he had obtained, he continued thus:—"On all these grounds I declare my conviction of Trimbukjee Dainglia's guilt, and I call upon your highness to apprehend him, as well as Govind Row Burdojee and Bhugwunt Row Gykwar (Sitaram's agents from Baroda, who were deeply implicated), and to deposit them in such custody as may be considered safe and trustworthy. Even if your highness is not fully convinced of the guilt of these persons, it must be admitted that there is sufficient ground for confining them; and I only ask of you to do so, until his excellency the governor-general and your highness shall have an opportunity of consulting on the subject. I have only to add my desire that this apprehension may be immediate. A foreign ambassador has been murdered in the midst of your highness's court; a Brahmin has been massacred almost in the temple during one of the greatest solemnities of your religion; and I must not conceal from your highness that the impunity of the perpetrators of this enormity has led to imputations not to be thought of against your highness's government. Nobody is more convinced of the falsehood of such insinuations than I am; but I think it my duty to state them, that your highness may see the necessity of refuting calumnies so injurious to your reputation."

Conduct of the Peishwa

The Peishwa, though pleased to find that the guilt of which he was conscious was only insinuated, and not directly charged against him, was apparently unable to summon up sufficient resolution for the adoption of any decided course, and was obliged to content himself with weaving pretexts for delay. He could not believe, he said, that Trimbukjee was guilty, but if sufficient proof were given, he was ready to arrest him. At the very time when he made

A.D. 1815. In resolving to attempt such an alliance, the governor-general had also another important object in view. The Mahrattas were obviously aiming at the reconstitution of the Mahratta confederacy, for the scarcely disguised purpose of forming a counterbalance to British influence. It was therefore of importance to adopt means for the purpose of cutting off communication between the leading states, and thus preventing or impeding their mutual co-operation. For this purpose Bhopaul and Saugur were admirably situated. The former in particular was interposed between the territories of Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, and formed, so long as it retained its independence, an insuperable barrier between them So much were they themselves alive to the obstacles thus thrown in their way, that they had recently united their armies for the purpose of conquering and partitioning Bhopaul. Nothing but the talents and desperate courage of the Nabob Vizier Mahomed had prevented them from effecting their object, and there was therefore every reason to apprehend that in the ensuing season they would again unite their forces and renew the campaign. And there was nothing to prevent them, since the non-interference policy of the Company left them in no fear of interruption.

Proposed alliances with Nabobs of Bhopaul and Saugur

Such was the state of matters in Bhopaul when, in consequence of the failure of the negotiation with Ragojee Bhonsla, the attention of the governor-general was directed to the importance of framing some new defensive line. In this no difficulty was anticipated from the nabob himself, as he had become sensible of his inability any longer to withstand the Mahratta combination, and had made urgent application to the British government for aid. In addition to the mutual benefits to be derived from the alliance, he could also point to the services which one of his predecessors had rendered to the Company during the celebrated overland route of a body of troops sent by Warren Hastings under Colonel Goddard from Calpee to Bombay. These services, which, when the non-intervention system prevailed, it was deemed politic to forget, it was now convenient to remember, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, to whom, as resident at Delhi, the nabob's application had been made, was instructed to conclude an alliance with him on the following basis:—"The British government to afford its protection against the present designs of Scindia and the Bhonsla, and a perpetual guarantee for the future; the nabob to be left in complete independence in the management of his internal administration; the British troops to have free ingress and egress through the Bhopaul territories, together with every facility in the provision of their supplies and necessaries; a fortress to be delivered as a present depôt, and eventually a spot to be allotted for a cantonment or permanent station; the nabob to renounce all connection with the Pindarees, and not to negotiate with other powers except in concert with the British government, abiding by its arbitration in all differences with them." As additional inducements to the nabob to enter into alliance on the above terms, all claim for the expense of defending him was to be waived, and

Terms offered to them

any of his territories now in possession of the Pindarees were to be recovered for him and restored. Terms nearly the same were proposed to the Nabob of Saugur, and were understood to be so nearly arranged that Mr. Strachey, the resident at Scindia's court, thought himself authorized formally to communicate the fact to that chief. In consequence of this communication, others to the same effect were made to the courts of Poonah and Nagpoor. A.D. 1815

Alliances with Nabobs of Bhopaul and Saugur

The Peishwa, who had no direct interest in the subject, professed to be rather pleased than otherwise that Bhopaul and Saugur were henceforth to be under British protection, as he hoped that thereby several of his dependants would be less exposed to marauders, who had repeatedly pillaged them Ragojee Bhonsla did not take the intimation quite so coolly, and requested time to consider; but on being pressed for an answer, deemed it prudent to feign acquiescence, though he found it difficult to conceal his dissatisfaction. Scindia was more open, and did not hesitate to denounce the alliance with Bhopaul as a violation of subsisting treaties. Bhopaul was one of his dependencies, and it had been expressly stipulated between him and the Company that he should be at perfect liberty to deal with them as he thought fit without being interfered with. It was well known that he had been engaged in reducing Bhopaul to submission; he had no doubt of being able to effect it in a new campaign, and therefore for the Company to step in at such a time, and exclude him from his just rights by calling Bhopaul an ally, was tantamount to a declaration of war. He would not submit to this injustice, but would proceed with his preparations against Bhopaul, regardless of the intimation which had been made.

Protest of Scindia against these alliances.

The governor-general had calculated on some such ebullition on the part both of Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, and had therefore been careful in commencing the negotiation, to provide against the possible, if not probable effects of their displeasure. He had reinforced the troops in Bundelcund, and held them ready to move on the shortest notice; he had ordered the Nizam's subsidiary force to move from Jaulna to Ellichpoor, and the Peishwa's subsidiary force to prepare to support it by moving forward toward the station which it had quitted; and he had directed the whole troops of Gujerat to be concentrated at some point considerably to the east of its frontier But for these precautions it is not unlikely that Scindia would have carried his threats into execution, and risked hostilities sooner than abandon the hope of making himself master of Bhopaul As it was, he readily availed himself of the opportunity to recede from a position which he was not prepared to maintain, when the governor-general, after stating the grounds on which he conceived Bhopaul entitled to be dealt with as an independent state, called upon him, if he had evidence to the contrary, to produce it. The question was thus once more brought within the sphere of diplomacy, and Scindia, hopeless of being able as yet to gain anything by open rupture, was not unwilling to spin

He claims Bhopaul as a dependency

A D. 1816

out the time in labouring ineffectually to prove that the British government had no right to enter into alliance with Bhopaul. His objections were for the most part re-echoed by Ragojee Bhonsla. The most curious part of the whole is, that the alliance itself, which became the subject of so much argument and diplomacy, was not completed. The intimation made to the Mahratta chiefs having secured Vizier Mahomed against actual invasion, that wily Patan nabob had no wish to commit himself any farther, and instead of completing the alliance on the basis proposed, entered into a correspondence with Jean Baptiste Filoze, Scindia's general, who had hoped to conduct the campaign against Bhopaul, with the view of ascertaining whether he might not make better terms than those which the Company had offered him. The governor-general, on discovering this duplicity, was so indignant that he abruptly closed the negotiation, and instructed the resident at Gwalior to leave Scindia at full liberty to carry out any projects he might be contemplating against Bhopaul.

Alliance with Bhopaul frustrated by the duplicity of the nabob

Death of Ragojee Bhonsla.

In consequence of the abrupt termination of the negotiation with Bhopaul, the joint attack upon it would probably have been renewed, had not two events occurred which greatly changed the position of political affairs. These were the deaths of Vizier Mahomed, Nabob of Bhopaul, and of Ragojee Bhonsla, Rajah of Nagpoor, which happened within a week of each other, the former on the 17th, and the latter on the 22d of March, 1816. In both cases a son succeeded, but while the new nabob, Nuzur Mahomed, possessed no less talent and more honesty than his father, the new rajah, Purswajee Bhonsla, was so weak, both in body and mind, as to be altogether incapable of conducting the government. The question of a regency was therefore immediately raised, and led to disputes, of which the governor-general did not scruple to avail himself, in order to effect the subsidiary alliance which had so long been desired. By supporting the claim of Modajee Bhonsla, better known as Apa Sahib, the nephew of the late rajah, he secured his elevation to the office of regent, and with it an influence, which, it was hoped, would be productive of great advantages. Apa Sahib accordingly, as soon as he was installed, felt that his only security against the powerful party which originally opposed, and was still able to thwart him, was to form a close alliance with the British government. The subsidiary alliance was no sooner proposed than he acceded to it, and concluded a treaty on the 27th of May, 1816, by which the Company undertook to protect the rajah against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and to maintain for that purpose a subsidiary force, consisting of a regiment of native cavalry, six regiments of infantry, and a complete company of European artillery, and the rajah engaged, besides paying seven and a half lacs as the annual expense of this force, to maintain an efficient contingent of not less than 3000 cavalry and 2000 infantry, to abstain from all encroachment on British allies, and to negotiate with foreign states only after consultation with the British government. About the same time when this treaty was concluded, the new Nabob of Bhopaul made

Subsidiary alliance with his successor, Apa Sahib

overtures for an alliance, on terms similar to those which had been offered to his father, but the governor-general, either because his indignation had not yet sufficiently cooled down, or because he thought that the Nagpoor alliance had rendered one with Bhopaul unnecessary, met the overtures coldly, and gave the nabob to understand that, in regard to his territories, it was his intention to maintain the strictest neutrality and indifference. A.D. 1816

Subsidiary alliance with Nagpoor

The subsidiary alliance concluded with Nagpoor seemed so important, that no time was lost in acting upon it. A body of troops, designed to form the subsidiary force, had previously been assembled at Ellichpoor, and as soon as the requisite notification was received from the resident, commenced their march under the command of Colonel Walker. Starting on the 1st of June, they crossed the Wurda on the 6th, and two days after arrived within a march of Nagpoor. Here the main body halted, and two battalions moving forward, made their entrance into the Bhonsla capital on the 10th. Great was the surprise which had been produced by their arrival in the vicinity. The conclusion of the treaty had been kept a profound secret, and was not even suspected, till it was formally proclaimed only the day before the troops made their appearance It is natural to infer that there was good ground for this secrecy, and that the treaty was concealed because it was foreseen that its terms would not be relished. It was a virtual surrender of national independence, and opposition to it, therefore, furnished a rallying point to all the disaffected, who were now able, in opposing the government, to conceal their factious aims under the disguise of an affected patriotism. Many even who had given in their adhesion to Apa Sahib, complained loudly of his breach of faith in carrying on and concluding so important a negotiation without consulting them. The quarrels which ensued were so bitter, and his position became in consequence so precarious, that he considered the two battalions which had arrived insufficient for his protection, and begged that the main body, whose destined station was Hoshungabad, on the left bank of the Nerbudda, should in the meantime remain in the vicinity. The permanent cantonment selected for the two battalions was situated about three miles west of Nagpoor This seemed to Apa Sahib too distant for his personal safety, and he therefore took the extraordinary step of withdrawing from the seat of government, and fixing his residence at a villa immediately adjoining the cantonment.

Its unpopularity

Critical position of Apa Sahib.

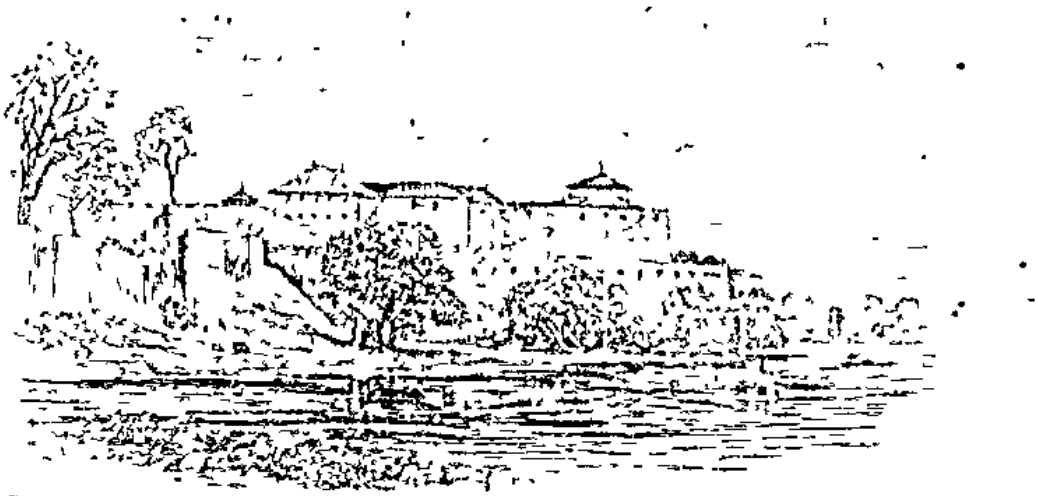
As the time for decisive measures to put down the predatory system had now arrived, it will be proper, before proceeding further, to give some account of the leading bands against which the military operations in contemplation were to be directed, We begin with the Pindarees The derivation of the name is unknown, but the parties bearing it make some figure in the early wars of the Deccan, previous to the extinction of the Mahometan dynasties there by the Moguls. They formed large bodies of irregular horse, and were chiefly distinguished from other troops of the same description, by serving with-

The predatory system

A D 1816

out pay, on condition of being permitted to compensate themselves by plunder. This permission was of course understood to apply only to enemies, but the Pindarees were not scrupulous, and when plunder was attainable, made little distinction between friend and foe. When the Moguls had established their ascendency in the Deccan, the Pindarees transferred their services to the Mahrattas, and shared largely in the disaster at Paniput. Having thus been brought into Northern India, they established themselves chiefly in Malwah, and obtained settlements in the vicinity of the Nerbudda, taking the designations of Scindia Shahi and Holkar Shahi Pindarees, according as they adhered to the one or the other of these Mahratta chiefs. In following their fortunes, however, they never allowed their supposed allegiance to interfere with their

The Pindarees a predatory nation



A PINDAREE FORT, Province of Benares.—From original drawing in possession of Miss Theresa Johnson

interest, and were always ready to join any party whose expeditions promised to yield the largest amount of plunder.

Their plundering expeditions

The Scindia Shahi Pindarees, by far the most numerous, first obtained their assignments of land from Madhajee Scindia in 1794. They were then headed by two brothers, Heeroo and Burun, who raised their standard at the season of the Dussera or Dasahara, an annual festival, celebrated at the end of October or beginning of November, and having collected their own followers, and all vagabond adventurers who chose to join them, set out at the end of the rains on a *lukbar* or plundering expedition. The whole body were mounted, some so well as to form an efficient cavalry, but the far greater part very indifferently on small horses or ponies, and with arms of a miscellaneous description, including pikes, clubs, and sticks pointed with iron. Carrying no baggage, because they trusted to the expedition itself for the supply of their wants, they moved with great celerity towards some previously appointed rendezvous, from which as a centre they spread over the whole country, and made a thorough sweep of everything which was portable and possessed any value. As

they were not disposed to risk an encounter with regular troops, they endeavoured to fall by surprise on each district marked out for plunder, and to complete the work of devastation before there was any danger of being overtaken. In carrying out this plan, no time could be lost, and hence, as the speediest means of extortion, every species of torture and abomination was resorted to Persons suspected of concealing property had a bag of hot ashes tied round their head, and were suffocated, by being thus compelled to inhale them; or, after being thrown on their back, had a heavy beam placed across their breast, while a Pindaree sat at each end pressing it down, and at the same time inflicting blows on the helpless victim. Boiling oil and burning straw were also common materials of torture, and not unfrequently children torn from their mothers' arms were dashed on the ground, or thrown into wells, or tossed into the air, and received on the point of a spear. It is almost unnecessary to add that the mothers themselves, and all other females who could tempt brutality, were subjected to treatment worse than death.

A.D. 1816

Horrid tortures inflicted by the Pindarees.

The two chiefs, Heeroo and Burun, died in 1800, and left sons who followed in their fathers' footsteps. It was impossible, however, that anything like hereditary succession could be followed out among the Pindarees. Individual talent was the true passport to leadership, and accordingly we find that in a few years, though the sons of the above leaders acquired considerable notoriety, the chief power had passed into other hands. Among the leaders of the Scindia Shahi Pindarees, two particularly distinguished themselves. These were Cheetoo and Kureem Khan Cheetoo, by birth a Jat, was sold when a child during a famine to a Pindaree. As he grew up, he distinguished himself in the *durra*, or Pindaree company, to which his master belonged, and in 1804 stood so high in the estimation of Dowlut Row Scindia, that he gave him a jaghire and conferred upon him the title of Nabob Two years after he fell into disgrace, and was imprisoned by Scindia, who did not restore him to liberty till he had been four years in prison, and purchased release by the payment of a heavy ransom He afterwards returned to his jaghire, and again ingratiated himself so much with Scindia, that he gave him five additional districts lying on the east of Bhopaul His cantonments were situated at Nimar, opposite to Hindia, on the Nerbudda, and his usual residence was Sutevas, in the vicinity Latterly he seldom made distant excursions, though expeditions annually issued by his orders, and were said sometimes to muster 12,000 horse.

Leaders of the Pindarees.

Kureem Khan, the other principal leader of the Pindarees, was by birth a Rohilla, and first attracted notice as the head of a band of Pindarees in the service of Dowlut Row Scindia, when that chief made war upon the Nizam, and compelled him to submit to the disgraceful convention of Kurdla. During that campaign, Kureem Khan enriched himself with plunder, and laid the foundation of his future fortune. His marriage with a lady belonging to a branch of the family of Bhopaul, while it added to his respectability, procured

Kureem Khan.

A D 1816.

Kureem Khan, leader of the Pindarees

him some assignments in that territory, and the value of his services induced Scindia to endeavour to secure them by creating him a nabob, and granting him several additional districts. If in these respects he resembled Cheetoo, he resembled him still more in the subsequent treatment which he received. In proportion as his power increased, Scindia, who had thought of him only as an useful dependant, began to suspect that he might one day prove a dangerous rival. There were certainly some grounds for this suspicion, since Kureem Khan had begun to act as if he contemplated the establishment of a regular sovereignty. Not contented like other Pindaree leaders with heading a body of predatory horse, he enlisted a number of infantry, possessed himself of several guns, and formed a *pagah* or establishment of household troops. All these things indicated an amount of ambition which Scindia was determined not to tolerate in any Pindaree, and he therefore contrived a plan for securing Kureem Khan's person, and annihilating his power. To effect this by open force would have been difficult; cunning furnished at once an easier and a surer process.

His treacherous seizure by Scindia

To put his scheme in execution, Scindia set out from Gwalior, and sent a message to Kureem Khan to meet him on important business. The Pindaree's vanity was flattered by the message, and he advanced to meet his acknowledged sovereign with a state scarcely inferior to his own. The interview took place in the vicinity of Bersiah, and Kureem Khan, who had vainly been attempting the capture of the fort of Suttunburee, was deluded into the belief that Scindia meant, after reducing the place by his more powerful artillery, to make him a present of it. Thus thrown off his guard, he was still more flattered when Scindia offered to visit him in his own camp. To show his high sense of the honour, he seated his visitor on a temporary throne, formed of a bag of rupees of the value of £12,500, which, according to a custom usual in India when a superior condescends to visit an inferior, was meant and accepted as a present. Scindia professed to be not only delighted with his reception, but filled with admiration of Kureem Khan's abilities. He had found, he said, what he had long sought in vain—an individual combining the qualities of a soldier and a statesman, and there was scarcely anything he could ask that he was not inclined to grant. This hint was not lost on Kureem Khan, who applied for several important grants in addition to those that had previously been promised. Sunnuds, or deeds of grant, and a rich dress of investiture, were ordered to be prepared, and nothing remained but to complete the ceremony. Full of hope, he proceeded on the appointed day with a few attendants to the Mahratta camp. He was received with singular honour, and seemed on the eve of having all his wishes fulfilled, when Scindia on some pretext quitted the tent, and a body of armed men rushed in and made Kureem Khan their prisoner. The success of this first treachery being announced by a signal gun, Scindia's troops instantly attacked the Pindaree camp, and dispersing all the persons who belonged to it, gained an immense booty. Still more was expected, as it was known that at

A.D. 1811.

Shujahalpoor, where his family resided, Kureem Khan had deposited the greater part of his jewels and treasure. His mother, however, saved them by hurrying off with everything of value to the westward, and obtaining an asylum with Zalim Sing, Nabob of Kotah. Kureem Khan was carried off as a prisoner to Gwalior. His followers, naturally exasperated, were not slow in retaliating, and, divided into several bands, the largest of which was headed by his nephew Namdur Khan, plundered the territories of Scindia without mercy. The effect was to convince the treacherous Mahratta that he gained little by Kureem Khan's imprisonment, and he was therefore induced, at the end of four years, by the tempting offer of a payment of six lacs, to give him his liberty.

Imprisonment of Kureem Khan

Before Kureem Khan was released, some attempt was made to obtain an oblivion of the past, and engage him once more in Scindia's interests. While in custody he made no scruple of promising everything that was asked of him, but the moment he saw himself again at the head of his Pindarees the work of vengeance commenced, and Scindia found that if he erred in seizing Kureem Khan at first, he had erred still more in selling him his freedom. Ere long his loss by depredations far exceeded the six lacs which had been paid him, and Kureem Khan could boast of more extensive territories than belonged to him before his captivity. In addition to the force which he could himself collect, he had the disposal of that of Cheetoo, who having formerly been under great obligations to him, and having moreover like himself wrongs to avenge on Scindia, was ready to take part in any incursion into his territories. The effect of this union was to increase the Pindaree force to an extent which made it really formidable. At the *dussera* of 1811, the number of Pindarees who assembled is stated by Sir John Malcolm to have been not less than 60,000. This is an exaggeration, and Prinsep is certainly nearer the truth, when he states them at "not less than 25,000 cavalry, of all descriptions, besides several battalions of infantry newly raised for the purpose."

His release and subsequent depredations.

This great prosperity of Kureem Khan was destined not to be of long duration. He was anxious for an incursion into the territories of Ragojee Bhonsla, from which, owing to the notorious feebleness of the government, a rich booty with little risk was anticipated. Cheetoo, on whom Ragojee had recently conferred several jaghires, was unwilling to forfeit them by taking part in such an incursion, and the quarrel became so bitter that the union was broken up. While thus weakened, Kureem Khan was attacked by Jagoo Bapoo, a general whom Scindia had sent against him, and so completely defeated that his durra was dispersed, and he had great difficulty in saving himself by a precipitate flight. Though Cheetoo did not take an active part in this attack, he is said to have suggested it. At all events he managed to turn it to his advantage, and by the dispersion of his rival's durra added so largely to his own that he was now by far the most formidable of all the Pindaree leaders. Kureem Khan continued his flight to Kotah, where his family had found an asylum; but the

His incursion into the Nagpoor territory

A D 1812.

wary nabob, unwilling to commit himself further, advised him to seek the protection of Ameer Khan, who received him with many professions of friendship. They could not have been sincere, for he shortly after, under pretence of recommending him to Toolsah Bai, then regent of Holkar's dominions, handed him over to his agent Guffoor Khan, by whom he was detained as a prisoner for three years. During this interval his nephew Namdur Khan had exerted himself to keep up his durra, but on his return he found it so much diminished, that he consented to hold only a secondary place, by uniting it to the durra of Dost Mahomed, and Wasil Mahomed, the two sons of Heeroo. These, as successors to their father, had always claimed a place among the Pindaree leaders, but were mainly indebted for the prominent position which they had attained to Kureem Khan's overthrow. They held considerable jaghires in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa, and were usually cantoned within the Bhopaul territory. In 1814 the relative strength of the principal Pindaree durras was supposed to be as follows:—Cheetoo's 15,000, Kureem Khan's 4000, and Dost and Wasil Mahomed's 7000. Adding to these 8000 under independent leaders of inferior note, the whole Pindaree force must have mustered about 34,000.

Durra of Kureem Khan dispersed.

Pindaree incursions into the British territory

For many years the Pindarees confined their depredations to the neighbouring territories of the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the Rajah of Berar. Those of the rajah, as the weakest, suffered most severely, and he was more than once alarmed both for his own personal safety and for that of his capital. In proportion as their devastations impoverished the districts subjected to them, their expeditions began to prove unproductive, and it became necessary to extend them over a wider field. The British territories had hitherto escaped, but after a pusillanimous policy was adopted, the hope of impunity tempted aggression, and in January, 1812, a body of Pindarees belonging to Dost Mahomed's durra penetrated through Bundelcund and Rewa. After spreading devastation and terror on every side, burning numerous villages, and committing fearful atrocities on the inhabitants, they were advancing to the pillage of the large commercial town of Mirzapoor, when the approach of British troops from Benares and Allahabad compelled them to change their route, and make the best of their way home through a province of Nagpoor. The quantity of booty obtained made it certain that this was only the first of a series of forays, and while the inhabitants of the districts threatened were kept in a state of alarm which seriously interfered with their industrial occupations, government incurred great expense in stationing and maintaining troops in the various localities into which it seemed most probable that incursions would be made. In this way a line of posts was formed, stretching from the frontiers of Bundelcund to the Gulf of Cambay. It was impossible, however, that such a line could be effectually guarded, and the Pindarees repeatedly breaking through it, or turning it, carried on their ravages simultaneously in all the three presidencies. One band about 5000 strong, headed by Cheetoo, penetrating westward, laid

A.D. 1816.

waste the dependencies of Surat; while other bodies, carrying their depredations to the south and east, entered the Northern Circars, and carried off a rich booty from the district of Masulipatam. In March, 1816, the devastating hordes mustered in the greatest numbers they had yet displayed. In three divisions, one of them estimated at 10,000, and the others at 5000 each, they burst into the territories of the Nizam. One of the smaller divisions continuing onward, penetrated to Guntoor and Masulipatam, and for eight days kept moving about at the rate of thirty or forty miles a day, committing fearful devastation, and perpetrating horrible atrocities. From the report of a commission specially appointed to ascertain the amount of injury inflicted, it appeared that during the above eight days, 182 persons had been slain, 305 wounded, and 3633 tortured.

Devastations by the Pindarees

The comparative impunity with which the Pindarees had escaped in March, 1816, tempted them to return in December. The population, despairing of being able to offer any resistance, fled to the neighbouring hills and thickets, and left their villages and homes at the mercy of the marauders, who had partially plundered the town of Ganjam, and threatened the temple of Juggernaut, which no feeling of veneration would have induced them to spare, when the approach of troops hastened their departure. They were not allowed, however, to escape so easily as before. One British detachment hanging on their rear repeatedly came so near as to inflict severe punishment on the main body; other detachments intercepted them in their retreat, and when at last they reached their cantonments it was with greatly reduced numbers, and the loss of much of their ill-gotten booty. These disasters, and others of a similar nature which befell the Pindarees in various quarters, gave some countenance to the efficacy of the defensive system, and parties were not wanting, both at home and in India, to oppose the adoption of more vigorous measures. These, however, were now decidedly in a minority, and the most competent judges concurred in recommending offensive operations. During the administration of Lord Minto the supreme government declared that "the arrangements and measures of defence which they had adopted were merely palliatives," and that they "anticipated the necessity, at some future time, of undertaking a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil." Earl Moira had never had any doubt on the subject, and had from the very first urged the suppression of the predatory hordes as essential to the prosperity and permanent tranquillity of the country.

Renewed incursions by them into British territory

Notwithstanding the decided conviction expressed by two successive Indian administrations, the home authorities clung so strongly to the defensive, that a letter from the secret committee, dated 29th September, 1815, expressly prohibited the supreme government "from engaging in plans of general confederacy and offensive operations against the Pindarees, either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in anticipation of an apprehended danger." The governor-gene-

Timid counsels of the home authorities

A D 1816.

ral continued to urge his views, but so unsuccessfully, that even Mr. Canning, who in 1816 had become president of the Board of Control, dictated instructions in which the following passages occur: "We are unwilling to incur the risk of a general war for the uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindarees. Extended political and military combinations we cannot at present sanction or approve." Again, after a reference to the "suspicious behaviour of certain of the Mahratta chieftains and the daring movements of the Pindarees," it is added: "We entertain a strong hope that the dangers which arise from both these causes, and which must, perhaps, always exist in a greater or less degree, may, by a judicious management of our existing relations, be prevented from coming upon us in any very formidable force; while, on the other hand, any attempt at this moment to establish a new system of policy tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily interfere with those economical regulations which it is more than ever incumbent on us to recommend as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendency, and by exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other states, may too probably produce or mature those very projects of hostile confederacy which constitute the chief object of your apprehension." These crude notions, and the pusillanimous policy which they recommended, were only carried to their legitimate consequences, when the secret committee, acting in obedience to Mr. Canning's dictation, suggested the practicability of taking advantage of the mutual dissensions of the Pindarees, and of neutralizing their mischievous activity by setting one leader against another. The indignant reply of the governor-general deserves to be quoted: "When the honourable committee suggest the expedient of engaging one portion of the Pindarees to destroy some other branch of the association, I am roused to the fear that we have been culpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home the brutal and atrocious qualities of those wretches. Had we not failed to describe sufficiently the horror and execration in which the Pindarees are justly held, I am satisfied that nothing could have been more repugnant to the feelings of the honourable committee than the notion that this government should be soiled by a procedure which was to bear the colour of confidential intercourse—of a common cause with any of these gangs."

Timid counsels of the home authorities in regard to Pindaree devastations

The atrocities of the Pindarees had at length been carried to such a height that the home authorities became convinced of the necessity of adopting a bolder course than they had hitherto enjoined, and so far modified their previous instructions, as to admit that "they were not intended to restrain the governor-general in the exercise of his judgment and discretion upon any occasion when actual war upon the British territories might be commenced by any body of marauders, and where the lives and properties of British subjects might call for efficient protection." Any measures which he might have adopted for the purpose of repelling invasion and pursuing the invaders into their own haunts were approved by anticipation. The governor-general lost no time in acting

The bolder policy of Earl Moira subsequently adopted.

upon the new policy thus indicated, and prepared to negotiate the new alliances which it would be necessary to form before any reasonable hope could be entertained of suppressing the predatory system. The Pindarees, though the most numerous and most atrocious, were by no means the only depredators. Depredation in some form entered largely into the military system of the Mahrattas, and many of the troops professedly belonging to Scindia and Holkar were marauding mercenaries, who trusted much more to plunder than to regular pay, and were ever ready when dissatisfied with the one or the other to change masters, or to assume independence and create disturbances merely for the purpose of profiting by them. The desertion of the alliances which the Marquis of Wellesley had formed was a virtual declaration in favour of predatory warfare, and bands of Patan mercenaries, sometimes in the name of Mahratta chiefs, but more frequently without thinking it necessary to employ any pretext, began to roam over the territories from which protection had been withdrawn, as if that withdrawal had declared them to be a common prey. Ameer Khan, whom we have already seen at the head of these marauders, having fixed upon Rajpootana as the principal sphere of his operations, kept the whole country in a state bordering on anarchy. The feuds existing among the Rajpoot chiefs made it easy for him to play the one against the other, and thus enrich and aggrandize himself at the expense of all. In order to show how much the general tranquillity was thus disturbed some detail will be necessary

A.D. 1816

Other depredators besides the Pindarees.

State of Rajpootana.

Rajasthan or Rajpootana, an extensive region stretching westward from the Jumna to Scinde, and southward from the Punjab to Malwah and Gujerat, derived its name from the principal tribes inhabiting it, who called themselves Rajpoots, or "Sons of Princes," because they claimed to represent the Cshatriya, or the original regal and military Hindoo caste. It is said that at an early period the whole territory was ruled by a single prince. Be this as it may, the primitive monarchy, if it ever existed, had been completely dissolved, and the country broken up into a number of independent principalities. Of these, by far the most important were Mewar, Marwar, and Dhoondar, better known by the names of their respective capitals, Odeypoor, Joudpoor, and Jeypoor. The chief, or, as he is called, the Rana of Odeypoor, claimed direct descent from Rama, and accordingly took precedency of all the other Rajpoot princes, who, when the succession opened to them, did not think themselves fully installed till he had recognized them by bestowing an ornament worn upon the forehead This recognized pre-eminence of the Rana gave him much more political weight than he could have derived from his territory, which, situated in the south of Rajpootana, was throughout rugged, and, with a few exceptional spots, far from fertile. The Mogul, though he often tried, failed to make him tributary, and he maintained his independence to the last. Immediately to the west beyond the Aravali Mountains lay the territory of Marwar, or of the Rajah of Joudpoor, who belonged to the Rahtore tribe of Rajpoots, and derived his descent from a

A D 1803. family which reigned at Canouje about the time of the Mahometan conquest. He possessed some fertile tracts, particularly towards his south frontier, but all the rest of his territory was little better than a sandy desert. In the reign of Akbar the rajahs acknowledged the Mogul as their superior, and held high office at his court, till the bigotry of Aurungzebe compelled them to throw off the yoke. During a war of thirty years they maintained their independence and were never again subject to the Mogul. On the north-east, extending nearly to the banks of the Jumna, was the territory of the Rajah of Jeypoor, who claimed descent from Kasa, a younger son of Rama, and was the acknowledged head of the Kachwaka Rajpoots. Many parts of the territory, though sandy, had been brought by irrigation under profitable culture, and many other parts were so well adapted for grazing that a very considerable revenue was raised. The proximity to Agra and Delhi brought the rajahs into early antagonism with the Mogul emperors, and deprived them of independence. While the empire existed they endeavoured to compensate themselves for the loss by repeatedly gaining possession of the first offices in the state; when the empire became hopelessly dismembered, Jey Sing, the rajah then reigning, ceased to contest the Mahratta ascendency, and making the best terms he could with them, continued till his death in 1743 to devote himself to internal improvements, and to the cultivation of his literary tastes, more especially the science of astronomy, his proficiency in which is attested by his astronomical tables drawn up for the reformation of the calendar, and the observatories which he erected at Jeypoor, Oojein, Benares, and Delhi.

The three leading Rajpoot states.

Krishna Koomaree the Rana of Odeypoor's beautiful daughter

In 1803, at the close of the second Mahratta war, Bheem Sing was Rana of Odeypoor, Meer Sing Rajah of Joudpoor, and Jugat Sing Rajah of Jeypoor. Their only safety was in union, but their feuds made this impossible, and left them to become the prey of comparatively ignoble enemies. The original cause of quarrel is so singular and characteristic, as to be not undeserving of a short narrative. Bheem Sing had a beautiful daughter, Krishna Koomaree, who was sought in marriage by several Rajpoot princes: the Rajah of Joudpoor was the successful suitor, but died before the marriage was celebrated. The Rajah of Jeypoor was next preferred; and all the preliminary arrangements having been made, an escort of 3000 troops had actually proceeded to Odeypoor to bring the princess home, when Man Sing, now Rajah of Joudpoor, stepped in and claimed her as his wife, insisting that after she had been the affianced bride of his predecessor it would bring indelible disgrace upon him to allow her to be married into any other family. As no time was to be lost, Man Sing took the most effectual means to prevent the marriage with Jugat Sing by attacking and routing the troops which he had sent to escort the princess from Odeypoor. A fierce war immediately ensued, and was so far in favour of Man Sing, that the Rana broke off the intended nuptials and agreed to accept him as his son-in-law. For this success he was mainly indebted to the Mah-

rattas, who, having during their conquests in Hindoostan established their claim of chout in Rajpootana, made it a ground for interfering in the internal concerns of its chiefs. Both Scindia and Holkar gave their support to the Rajah of Joudpoor, but notwithstanding this formidable combination, the Rajah of Jeypoor was still in hopes of being able to maintain his ground, as he had, in December, 1803, concluded a treaty with Lord Lake, by which the integrity of his territories was guaranteed by the Company. In this case, however, the guarantee of the Company proved a broken reed. Sir George Barlow, on finding that the treaty interfered with his pusillanimous policy, availed himself of some flimsy pretexts for cancelling it, and as if this injustice had not been sufficient, let the Mahrattas loose upon him by freeing them from some restrictions which prohibited them from interfering with his territory. The first effect of this desertion was to subject him to a visit from Holkar, whom he was obliged to buy off at the price of twenty lacs of rupees.

A D 1804.

Feuds among the Rajpoot chiefs.



MAHARANA BHEEM SING, Prince of Odeypoor
From Todd's Annals of Rajasthan.

War produced by their dissensions.

In consideration of this sum, Holkar undertook not to interfere in the war which the rival marriage had produced, and Man Sing, not only attacked by Jugat Sing, but opposed by a powerful body of his own subjects, who, disgusted by his tyranny, had risen in support of another claimant to the throne, was obliged to shut himself up in the citadel of Joudpoor. Scindia, who had been bought off by the Rana, had also agreed to remain neutral, but both he and Holkar, while keeping their engagements in the letter, laid no restraint on their marauding dependants. Ameer Khan in particular, considering it contrary to his interest that Man Sing's power should be annihilated, compelled Jugat Sing to raise the siege of Joudpoor, and hasten home to the defence of his own dominions. The Rana, though he took no part in the war between the two rajahs, suffered so much from the exactions of Scindia and Ameer Khan, and felt so indignant at being obliged to treat them as equals, that he made an urgent application to the Company, and offered to purchase their protection by the cession of half his territory. The two rajahs, also convinced that their hostilities were only making them the prey of a common enemy, offered to submit their quarrel to the arbitration of the British government, which having, as they justly argued, succeeded to the place of the Mogul emperor, ought not to decline his duties, one of the most obvious and important of which was to interpose authoritatively for the maintenance of the general tranquillity. The

A D 1806

policy now in favour was too selfish and cowardly to attach any weight to these representations, and the British government looked on with indifference, and kept boasting of its moderation in standing aloof, while whole provinces were falling into a state of anarchy. One effect of this policy was to seal the fate of the beautiful Krishna Koomaree, Princess of Odeypoor. The Rana, her father, deprived of all other support, was driven to enlist the services of Ameer Khan, and assigned to him a fourth of his revenues as the permanent hire of one of the Patan adventurer's brigades. Availing himself of the influence thus acquired, Ameer Khan, who had discovered in the Rana a character as heartless and unprincipled as his own, ventured to suggest, that as the marriage feud still continued to rage, the only effectual mode of terminating it would be to remove its cause by putting the princess to death. Strange to say, the inhuman proposal, instead of being rejected with horror, was listened to, and according to Ameer Khan's account, the Rana replied as follows:—"If you will pledge yourself to get for me Khalee Row (a coveted tract of territory), from Rajah Man Sing, I will in that case contrive to get rid of my daughter after you shall have gone, using such means as shall create as little odium as possible" The means adopted were to mix poison with his daughter's food. The quantity taken proved insufficient, but the princess, divining what had been intended, sent to her father to say that if her living longer was deemed inconsistent with the interest of his family, there was no necessity for going secretly to work. She accordingly dressed herself in gay attire, and procuring a bowl of poison, drank it off, exclaiming, "This is the marriage to which I was foredoomed." Her mother, unable to survive the tragical fate of her beloved daughter, died shortly after of a broken heart. The father continued to live and reap the full fruits of his infamy. According to the account given by Sir John Malcolm, the untimely death of the princess was no sooner known in Odeypoor, than "loud lamentations burst from every quarter, and expressions of pity at her fate were mingled with execrations on the weakness and cowardice of those who could purchase safety on such terms" The difficulty of finding any redeeming trait in this diabolical atrocity, will justify the insertion of Sir John's narrative of the conduct of "Sugwant Sing, chief of Karradur, who, the moment he heard of the proceedings in the palace, hastened from his residence to Odeypoor, and dismounting from a breathless horse, went unceremoniously into the presence of his prince, whom he found seated with several of his ministers in apparent affliction 'Is the princess dead or alive?' was his impatient interrogation, to which, after a short pause, Adjeit Sing replied, by entreating him 'not to disturb the grief of a father for a lost child.' The old chief immediately unbuckled his sword, which, with his shield, he laid at the feet of the Maharana, saying in a calm but resolute tone: 'My ancestors have served yours for more than thirty generations, and to you I cannot utter what I feel, but these arms shall never more be used in your service.'" Sugwant Sing kept his

Horrible mode of reconciling dissensions among Rajpoot chiefs

Tragical fate of Krishna Koomaree.

A D 1816. not only patronized the Pindarees, but believed that, if duly supported, they might prove a match for the British, and be the means of re-establishing the mode of warfare which the Mahrattas originally pursued; and to the abandonment of which not a few ascribed their more recent disasters. It was therefore not without alarm and deep mortification that Scindia, shrinking from a new contest, felt constrained to abandon the Pindarees to their fate, and even to profess his desire to assist in any measures that might be adopted for their extermination. While Scindia was thus afraid to show any countenance to the Pindaree, little was to be apprehended from the troops of Holkar, whose musnud was now occupied by a child, while an unprincipled woman acted as regent, and had difficulty in maintaining her position among contending factions

The Pindarees abandoned by Scindia.

Policy of the Peishwa

In regard to the Peishwa, there was more room for doubt. He had long submitted with the utmost reluctance to the yoke which the subsidiary alliance had imposed upon him, and ever since he had been compelled to allow his favourite, Trimbukjee, to be carried off to an imprisonment which was apparently to be for life, his bitter animosity to the British had scarcely been disguised. Loud and incessant were his complaints of harshness and injustice. He had given up Trimbukjee, he alleged, only that he might be brought to trial, and in the belief that if found guilty he would be returned to him for punishment He was also sustaining severe pecuniary loss, as Trimbukjee, who had been intrusted with his treasures, was the only person who could show where they were concealed. While daily importuning the resident on this subject, and enlarging on many other imaginary grievances, the startling intelligence arrived that Trimbukjee had made his escape on the 2d of September, 1816, from the Fort of Tannah. For greater security, the garrison of the fort consisted entirely of European soldiers, and this circumstance was proved to have aided the means used for setting him at liberty. He was allowed every afternoon to take exercise for an hour or two on the ramparts, and it was remembered when too late that a Mahratta groom who had the charge of an officer's horse, used about the same time to be busily employed immediately below in currying and cleaning him He was often singing snatches of Mahratta songs, the meaning of which the sentries did not understand, but which Bishop Heber, from the account given to him, has exhibited in the following verses:—

Escape of his favourite Trimbukjee

"Behind the bush the bowmen hide,
The horse beneath the tree,
Where shall I find a knight will ride
The jungle paths with me?

There are five-and-fifty coursers there,
And four-and fifty men;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,
The Deccan thrives again."

A hole cut in the wall of the stable where the Mahratta groom kept his

horse was easily reached from an outhouse of the fort, to which Trimbukjee was permitted to retire at a certain hour in the evening in charge of a sentry. In a dark and rainy night, while the sentry stood outside, the prisoner disappeared, and having changed his dress into that of a common labourer, with a basket on his head, passed the gateway of the fort unquestioned. The narrow channel of Salsette was all that separated him from the Mahratta territory. He waded over, and found a body of horsemen, who soon placed him beyond the reach of pursuit. A.D 1816. Escape of Trimbukjee

The Peishwa, on being informed by Mr. Elphinstone of Trimbukjee's escape, not only professed entire ignorance, but promised to adopt energetic measures for recapturing him. He soon gave cause to suspect his sincerity. Any information he gave was found only to mislead, and he began to collect troops even in the vicinity of Poonah, with so little attempt at concealment, that it seemed as if he cared not how soon open hostilities were commenced. Meanwhile, though Bajee Row pretended to have no idea of the place to which Trimbukjee had retired, and declared solemnly that he believed him to be dead, all his subjects were well aware that he had found an asylum among the Mahadeo Hills, to the south of the Neera, and placed himself at the head of considerable bodies of horse and foot. It was moreover ascertained, that interviews had actually taken place between Trimbukjee and his master, who had conveyed money to him, and acted in such a manner as to make his cause his own. The troops under Trimbukjee at last amounted to nearly 20,000 This seemed only the prelude to a much more formidable muster, since the Peishwa displayed augmented activity in raising new levies, in removing his treasures from Poonah to Raighur, and in improving the defences of his strongest forts. Duplicity of the Peishwa.

It was now high time to bring the question of peace or war to a formal decision, and Mr. Elphinstone, while waiting for instructions from the governor-general, proceeded to prepare for the worst, by recalling to Poonah the principal part of the subsidiary force which had been stationed on the frontier to watch the Pindarees, and instructing the Hyderabad subsidiary force to advance into Candeish. Here a body of insurgents, about 5000 strong, had assembled under Godajee Dainglia, Trimbukjee's nephew, while his brother-in-law, Jado Row, headed another body of about the same strength, in the south-east, in the vicinity of Punderpoor Besides these, a number of smaller parties were preparing to join from various quarters. Had this been all, a short delay might still have been possible, but every step taken by the Peishwa showed plainly that the insurgents had his full sanction, and had good ground for believing that he would soon place himself at their head. One of his most overt acts was the collecting of gun bullocks for the artillery in his arsenal at Poonah Thus distinctly warned, Mr Elphinstone deemed it folly to leave matters longer in suspense, and addressed a note to the Peishwa, in which, after reproaching him with duplicity and wanton aggression, he notified to him that the friendly Mutual preparations for hostilities.

A.D. 1816 relations between the two governments were at an end, that any attempt to leave Poonah would be regarded as a declaration of war, and that the subsidiary force would proceed forthwith to put down the insurrection. The last threat was immediately put in execution, and British troops moved forthwith against the principal bodies of insurgents. Colonel Smith, at the head of a detachment lightly equipped, hastened to the south, and endeavoured in vain to come up with a body of 4000, which seemed only anxious to avoid an encounter. Another detachment under Major Smith was more successful, and after a chase of 150 miles in four days, overtook the fugitives They made little resistance, and were dispersed without suffering severely, as the detachment had no cavalry to continue the pursuit. The other main body of insurgents assembled in Candeish did not escape so easily; a detachment of the Hyderabad subsidiary force under Captain Davies having encountered them, and compelled them to a precipitate flight, leaving more than 400 dead upon the field.

Threatened war with the Peishwa

His alarm

Bajee Row, when he saw the extreme to which matters had been precipitated, became seriously alarmed, and seemed willing to make any concession that might be required of him for the re-establishment of amicable relations. Another short delay in consequence took place, but its only effect was to give him another opportunity of manifesting his insincerity. The moment the more immediate pressure was removed, all his promises were forgotten, and he resumed his former courses. Mr. Elphinstone, though still left without direct instructions from the governor-general, did not shrink from the responsibility in a manner forced upon him, and having on the 6th of May, 1817, obtained a private audience of the Peishwa, informed him that after what had passed, no accommodation with him could now be made except by his engaging to deliver Trimbukjee, and giving security for performance. This communication was received with great apparent coolness, and Mr. Elphinstone therefore thought it necessary on the following day to give a more definite form to his demands, by embodying them in a note which specifically required an obligation to deliver Trimbukjee within one month, and deliver the forts of Singhur, Poorunder, and Raighur, as interim pledges. The written demand was received with as much apparent indifference as the verbal communication, and the twenty-four hours allowed for answer had nearly expired when vakeels arrived to intimate that the Peishwa agreed to the terms, and would surrender the forts without delay This unexpected result had been produced by the movement of the subsidiary force to positions which would have given them a complete command of Poonah

On the 10th of May the instructions of the governor-general arrived They approved by anticipation of all that Mr Elphinstone had done, and made specific provision for three cases which, it was supposable, might have occurred In the first case, assuming that the Peishwa had surrendered Trimbukjee, or made sincere efforts to seize him, the relations between the courts were to be

A.D. 1817.

replaced on the same footing as when Trimbukjee was surrendered in 1815. In the second case, assuming that the Peishwa had not taken active steps of any kind, the delivery of Trimbukjee within a definite time, and of greater securities than furnished by the treaty of Bassein, were demanded. In the third case, which supposed that refusal or evasion continued after the receipt of the instructions, the securities were to be enhanced. The securities mentioned included cessions of territory to the amount of twenty-nine lacs, to meet the expense of an additional subsidiary force of 5000 horse and 3000 foot, to be substituted for the Peishwa's contingent; the surrender of all claims on Gujerat, Bundelcund, and Hindoostan; and generally, a renunciation of all claim to be the head of a Mahratta confederacy. Should war have actually commenced, the Peishwa was to be seized, and a temporary arrangement made for the government of the country. The fact of instructions having been received from the governor-general was intimated to the Peishwa, but their precise contents were not explained to him till the 1st of June, when the resident waited upon him, and explained article by article the draft of a new treaty which he had prepared.

Rigorous terms offered to the Peishwa.

The Peishwa and his ministers laboured hard to obtain some abatement of the terms, but did nothing to justify it. On the contrary, the levy of troops continued as before, and the month allowed for the surrender of Trimbukjee was allowed to expire. There was now therefore no room for hesitation, and Mr. Elphinstone demanded that the treaty, in terms of the draft, which he had explained, should forthwith be executed. A short delay was gained by the discussion of the terms, but all evasions being at length exhausted, the treaty was signed and sealed by the Peishwa on the 13th of June, 1817. The stipulations would have deserved a minute detail had they been destined to regulate the relations of the two governments for any lengthened period, but as events shortly afterwards took place which entirely superseded them, it is necessary only to mention that the Peishwa was taken bound to cede territory yielding a revenue of thirty-four lacs; to renounce the character of supreme head of the Mahratta empire, and the right to communicate with other native powers, except through the British resident; to commute all past claims on the Guicowar for an annual payment of four lacs; to renew the lease of the moiety of Ahmedabad to the Guicowar, for four and a half lacs, and to surrender all rights in Bundelcund, Hindoostan, and Málwah. The terms were undoubtedly rigorous, and the Peishwa felt them to be so to such a degree, that at the very time of ratifying the treaty, he protested that it had been wrung from him, and that he acquiesced merely because he was unable to resist. It is impossible, however, to feel any sympathy for him. He had brought all his disasters upon himself by a cowardly, deceitful, and vindictive temper, and, as will soon be seen, the power left him, curtailed as it was, was still sufficient to tempt him to complete his ruin, by plunging once more into hostilities.

He accepts them under protest

CHAPTER III.

General preparations—The army of Hindoostan—The army of the Deccan—First movements—Treaties with Scindia and with Ameer Khan—Rupture with the Peishwa—Battle of Kirkee—Flight of the Peishwa—Operations against the Pindarees—Rupture with the Rajah of Nagpoor—Battle of Seetabaldee—Rupture with Holkar—Battle of Mahidpoor—Treaty with Holkar—Dispersion of the Pindarees—Operations against the Peishwa—Rajah of Sattarah installed—Capture of Sholapoor and Raighur—Storm of Talneer—Annexation of Saugur—Deposition of the Rajah of Nagpoor—Capture of Chanda—Surrender of Bajee Row—The last of the Peishwas

HAVING obtained from the home authorities a distinct though somewhat qualified assent to the necessity of suppression of the predatory system, the governor-general, who had previously formed his plans, lost no time in completing his general preparations. With this view, two powerful armies were provided to advance simultaneously from the north and south, so as not only to envelope the usual haunts of the Pindarees, but to overawe any of the native chiefs who might be disposed to countenance them The army of Hindoostan was composed of four main divisions, each of them of sufficient strength to act independently should circumstances require it The right division, assembled at Agra, and commanded by General Donkin, consisted of two regiments of cavalry, one of them his majesty's 8th dragoons, a regiment of European (his majesty's 14th) and three battalions of native infantry, with eighteen guns. The left division, stationed at Callinger in Bundelcund, and commanded by General Marshall, consisted of a regiment of native cavalry, two corps of irregular horse, and five battalions of native infantry, with twenty-four guns. The centre division, stationed at Secundra, on the left bank of the Jumna, about thirty miles W.S.W. of Cawnpore, and commanded by General Brown, consisted of three regiments of cavalry, one of them his majesty's 24th light dragoons, his majesty's 87th regiment, and eight battalions of native infantry, with fifty-four guns. This division, with which the governor-general as commander-in-chief established his head-quarters, mustered 12,500 fighting men of the regular army The fourth was a reserve division, stationed under Sir David Ochterlony at Rewaree, about fifty miles south-west of Delhi, and composed of a regiment of native cavalry, two corps of Skinner's horse, his majesty's 67th regiment, and five battalions of native infantry, with twenty-two guns To each division considerable bodies of irregulars were attached, while separate detachments were stationed in various localities to the east and west, so as to give support

A D 1817

Preparations to suppress the predatory system

Army of Hindoostan

A D 1817.

Project of governor general in regard to Scindia

bul, which rivers form the flank boundaries of the Gwalior district and its dependencies. There are but two routes by which carriages and perhaps cavalry can pass that chain, one along the Little Sindh and another not far from the Chumbul. By my seizing, with the centre, a position which would bar any movement along the Little Sindh, and placing Major-general Donkin's division at the back of the other pass, Scindia was reduced to the dilemma of subscribing the treaty which I offered him, or of crossing the hills through bye-paths, attended by a few followers who might be able to accompany him, sacrificing his splendid train of artillery (above 100 brass guns), with all its appendages, and abandoning at once to us his most valuable possessions"

New treaty imposed upon him

How far it was justifiable to take advantage of the false position in which any one had placed himself, and impose upon him terms which, as the governor-general himself confesses, "were essentially unqualified submission, though so coloured as to avoid making him feel public humiliation," might well have been questioned, had not Scindia by repeated acts of perfidy forfeited all claim to more indulgent treatment. While professing a readiness to assist in the extermination of the Pindarees, he had not only promised them protection, but was suspected of sharing in their plunder. With his Mahratta confederates he had been incessantly intriguing for the formation of a league designed to destroy British supremacy, and had very recently been detected in a treacherous correspondence with the Nepaulese. This last act, which crowned all his other offences, had been discovered by mere accident. While two passengers were crossing the Ganges at Bithoor, a full-sized impression of Scindia's seal chanced to drop from the turban of one of them. Suspicion being excited, they were detained and searched. Besides several letters from Scindia himself, some open and some sealed, they were found to be in possession of a letter urging the Ghoorkas to make common cause with the other independent powers of India. For better concealment, this letter was neatly pasted between the leaves of a Sanscrit book of the Vedas which one of the passengers, who professed to be a travelling student, was carrying with him. The governor-general, as the most delicate and impressive mode of intimating to Scindia that the intrigue was known, sent the sealed letters to be delivered to him, unopened and without comment, in full durbar. This discovery undoubtedly had its weight in deterring Scindia from disputing the terms which were dictated to him, and which he was well aware might easily be made still more rigorous and unpalatable.

Its terms

By the treaty concluded on the 5th of November, 1817, he engaged to use his best efforts for the destruction of the Pindarees; to furnish and maintain in complete efficiency a specific contingent to act in concert with the British and under the direction of a British officer; to admit British garrisons into the forts of Hindia and Aseerghur, and allow them to be used as depôts during the war; to remit for three years his claims upon the British government, in order that they might be applied to the equipment of the contingent, and to allow the

sums hitherto paid in pensions to his family and ministers to be applied to the regular payments of those of his troops co-operating with the British. With the exception of the troops so co-operating, all the others belonging to Scindia were to remain stationary at the posts assigned by the British government. By the eighth article of treaty of Surjee Argengaum, concluded in November, 1805, the British government had engaged to confine its alliances with other native states within certain limits. This article, as interfering with the alliances necessary to be formed for the successful suppression of the predatory system, was superseded by a new article, which gave full liberty to conclude alliances with the Rajpoot states of Odeypoor, Joudpoor, Jeypoor, and others on the left bank of the Chumbul, always, however, subject to the tribute which these states were bound to pay to Scindia, and the payment of which was guaranteed to him in consideration of his agreeing not to interfere in future with their affairs. This treaty with Scindia was immediately followed by another with Ameer Khan, who had sagacity enough to foresee the ruin which hostilities with the British would necessarily bring upon him, and therefore engaged, on their guaranteeing to him all the territories which he actually possessed under grants from Holkar, to disband his Patans, and give up his artillery, on receiving five lacs of rupees as their estimated value. As an hostage for the fulfilment of this treaty, Ameer Khan's son and heir was to reside at Delhi.

A.D 1817.

Terms of treaty concluded with Scindia.

In the midst of these negotiations a final rupture with Bajee Row took place, and actual hostilities commenced. When he signed the treaty he had, with more boldness and honesty than he usually evinced, protested that it was wrung from him by compulsion, and there could not therefore be a doubt that he would seize the first opportunity to shake himself free from it. As if by signing it he felt so degraded as to be ashamed to show himself to the inhabitants of his capital, he withdrew from it, and continuing absent under various pretences, did not return till the end of September What he was meditating was very apparent, for the whole of October was spent by him in collecting troops from all quarters, and urging his jaghirdars to prepare their contingents. It was the middle of the month before Mr Elphinstone could obtain an audience, and when he demanded an explanation, he was merely told that the Peishwa was desirous to take part in the Pindaree war to the extent of his means. This pretence was too shallow to deceive. Meanwhile, other circumstances gave unequivocal proof of intended hostilities. Numerous attempts were made to tamper with the fidelity of the sepoys of the brigade, and the Mahratta troops, as they crowded into the capital, encamped so as to inclose the British cantonments. The site of these, on the north-east of the city, had been well chosen for the purpose of defending it against an attack from without, but became very insecure when an attack was threatened both from without and from within. The necessity of removing to a stronger position

Final rupture with Bajee Row

A D. 1817. became every day more and more apparent, and at last Mr. Elphinstone, though most reluctant to precipitate the open rupture which was seen to be impending, gave orders on the 31st of October that the stores of the brigade should be transported to Kirkee, and that the brigade itself should immediately follow.

Site of Poonah and the British cantonments.

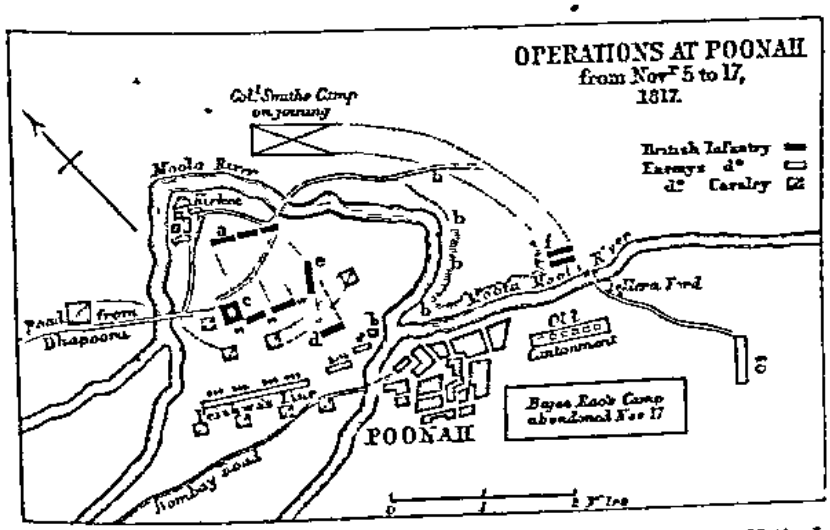
The Moota from the south-west meeting the Moola from the north-east, forms with it the Moota-Moola, which takes an intermediate direction and flows east. On the right bank, in the angle made by the Moota and the Moota-Moola, lies the city of Poonah, inclosed by the rivers towards the west and north, but quite open towards the south and east, in which latter direction, as already mentioned, the subsidiary force had its cantonments On the opposite or left bank of the Moota, at the point of junction with the Moola, stood the British residency, which had thus the disadvantage of being entirely separated from the cantonments, a river and the whole breadth of the city intervening between them It was to get rid of this disadvantage, and escape from the danger of being surrounded by the troops which were pouring into the city, that the British brigade removed on the 1st of November to the village of Kirkee, situated rather more than two miles to the north, in an angle formed by an abrupt bend of the Moola, and affording peculiar advantages for defence. The brigade, consisting of a Bombay European regiment, which had just arrived, and three native battalions under Colonel Burr, seemed quite able to maintain its new position till succours should arrive, but it was deemed prudent to send to Seroor for a light battalion that had been left there to meet contingencies, and a corps of 1000 auxiliary horse that had just been raised in the same quarter.

Demands of the Peishwa on Mr Elphinstone.

This reinforcement started from Seroor on the 5th of November, and in the forenoon of that day, Bajee Row, informed of the fact, put his troops in motion Gokla, a Mahratta chief, who had always been at the head of the war party, moved round a battalion, which took up a position between Kirkee and the residency, obviously with the view of cutting off the communication between the two Mr. Elphinstone having immediately demanded an explanation, an officer arrived on the part of the Peishwa to say that he had heard of the approach of troops as well from Seroor as from Colonel Smith's army, and having twice before been the dupe of his own irresolution, he was now determined to be beforehand with his demands. These were that the recently arrived Europeans should be sent back to Bombay, and that the brigade must both be reduced to its usual amount, and cantoned wherever he should appoint. A categorical answer being required, Mr. Elphinstone could only reply, that if the Peishwa joined his army, he would join the brigade, and that if the Mahratta troops advanced towards the brigade, they would assuredly be attacked. Bajee Row seems to have been too impatient to wait for this reply, for the moment his message left the residency, he mounted his horse, and joined his army at the Parbutee Hill, a little south-west of Poonah. So quick were the subsequent movements, that Mr Elphinstone and his suite had barely time

to ford the Moola, and hasten up its left bank, to cross it again by a bridge which led to Kirkee, when the residency was attacked, pillaged, and burned, with all Mr. Elphinstone's valuable books and papers. A.D. 1817.

Although the position at Kirkee could not have been successfully assailed, it was resolved to advance from it into the plain. The extent to which the fidelity of the native troops had been tampered with was not certainly known, and by keeping them cooped up, more might be lost than by assuming the offensive. Accordingly, Colonel Burr, leaving a detachment in charge of Kirkee, advanced and formed his line, placing the Europeans in the centre. Major Ford, who was cantoned at Dhapoora, a short distance to the west, with two battalions of the Poonah contingent, marched in to take his share in the danger, but was so much impeded by a party of horse sent to intercept him, Battle of Kirkee.



a, Position taken up by Colonel Burr on the 4th Nov. 1817.
b, Residence, whence Mr Elphinstone retired by route b b b, on 5th Nov
c, Major Ford's battalion, as they came in from Dhapoora.
d, First battalion of 7th Bombay Native Infantry, as advanced and nearly surrounded
e, First battalion of 7th Bombay Native Infantry, as formed afterwards en potence
f, Colonel Milne on the morning of the 16th
g His bivouac.

that he was obliged to fight his way, and did not arrive before the action was hotly commenced. The Mahrattas opened a heavy but distant cannonade, and attempted to push bodies of horse round the British flanks. In this they partly succeeded, but were ultimately repulsed with considerable loss, and did not again attempt to come to close quarters. At nightfall the British returned to Kirkee, with a loss of only eighteen killed, and fifty-seven wounded; whereas the enemy, who had for some time kept at a respectful distance, retired leaving about 500 on the field.

Hostilities being now openly declared, the Mahrattas, as if for the purpose of making reconciliation impossible, proceeded to give a ferocious character to the war, by putting to death Captain Vaughan and his brother, who, having been surrounded while travelling with a small escort, had surrendered on promise of quarter; and inhumanly murdering or mutilating most of the women Barbarous murder of two Europeans.

A D. 1817.

belonging to the brigade who had been found in the vicinity of the old cantonments. Meanwhile, a just retribution was in course of preparation. Colonel Smith, inferring the state of matters at Poonah, from the interruption of his communications, hastened southward On the 8th of November he reached Ahmednuggur, and though parties of the enemy's cavalry kept hovering around him, did not experience much annoyance till he had passed Seroor, when they appeared in such numbers as to surround him on every side. He forced his way, notwithstanding, and after a loss of part of his baggage, arrived at Poonah on the 13th. A combined attack on the enemy's camp was arranged, but at day-light on the 17th, when it was put in execution, it was found deserted, with the tents still standing. The Peishwa's courage had again failed him, and he had hastened off during the night to save himself by flight Poonah surrendered in the course of the day, and a pursuit of the flying enemy was successful in capturing eighteen guns, with their tumbrils and ammunition, and a large quantity of baggage.

Flight of the Peishwa

State of affairs at Nagpoor

During the discussions with the Peishwa, a complete change had come over the policy of Apa Sahib. We left him so conscious of dependence on British protection, that he had withdrawn from Nagpoor and fixed his residence close to the cantonments of the subsidiary force. His naturally restless and intriguing disposition did not permit him long to remain quiet, and he soon became intimately connected with the very party which had most strenuously opposed his appointment to the regency. This change was speedily followed by indications of a desire to shake himself free of some of the obligations to which he had become bound by the treaty, and he began with complaining that the subsidiary force and the contingent absorbed far too large a proportion of the public revenue This complaint was doubtless well founded, as the proportion exceeded a third of the whole, and measures were about to be taken to lighten the burden, when his own impatience and folly rendered an amicable adjustment impossible. The possession of the regency did not satisfy his ambition. He was anxious not only to wield the power, but to bear the name of rajah, and as there was no obstacle to his possession of the musnud except the imbecile Pursajee, the necessary means were taken to remove it. On the morning of the 1st of February, 1817, Pursajee was found dead in his bed. Though it was afterwards ascertained that he had been murdered, the vague rumours of violence which were whispered at the time passed unheeded, and Apa Sahib gained the object of his crime by being immediately proclaimed, without opposition, Rajah of Nagpoor. After this elevation he lost no time in effecting the changes which he had been meditating Nerayun Punt, who had strongly advocated the subsidiary alliance, and had continued ever since to be the main channel of communication with the British government, was dismissed, and Purseram Row, a notorious intriguer in favour of an opposite policy, was appointed in his place. When remonstrated with by Mr. Jenkins, the resident,

Apa Sahib made rajah

on the incongruity of this appointment, he revoked it indeed, but only to make choice of the commander of his private troops, Ramchundur Waugh, who was in some respects still more objectionable. All his other appointments to important offices in the state were made in a similar spirit. A.D 1817

Apa Sahib's marked hostility to British interests

The British alliance, which Apa Sahib had previously professed to regard as the main prop of his power, was now regarded with undisguised aversion, and he plunged deep into the intrigues which were at this time carried on for the purpose of establishing a new Mahratta confederacy. When the Peishwa, after threatening an open rupture sooner than give up Trimbukjee, was frightened into submission, and concluded the humiliating treaty mentioned above, Apa Sahib, aware how far he had committed himself, endeavoured to obviate the consequences by retracing his steps. He ostensibly restored Nerayun Punt to favour, made a new arrangement respecting the contingent, with which he professed to be perfectly satisfied, and gave so many proofs of a friendly disposition, that the resident was partly imposed upon, and as late as the end of October, gave it as his opinion that no immediate rupture was to be apprehended. Very possibly, had affairs remained at Poonah on their former footing, this opinion might have proved correct, but no sooner was it known that the Peishwa had rushed into hostilities, than Apa Sahib resolved to make common cause with him. He did not, however, immediately declare himself, and only indicated his designs by the extent and activity of his military preparations. By the middle of November, appearances were so menacing that the resident requested that a brigade of Colonel Adam's division should halt on the south of the Nerbudda, and be ready to detach a battalion with three troops of cavalry, to reinforce the Nagpoor brigade, which had been much weakened by sickness. The result of the battle of Kirkee, and the arrival of Colonel Smith at Poonah, followed by the Peishwa's flight, however much they might have disconcerted Apa Sahib, made no apparent change in his purposes, for his levies of troops continued as briskly as before. At the same time, it was known that the question of peace or war was frequently agitated in the privacy of his court, and that he alternated from the one to the other, according as prudent or desperate counsels swayed him

His profession of allegiance to the Peishwa.

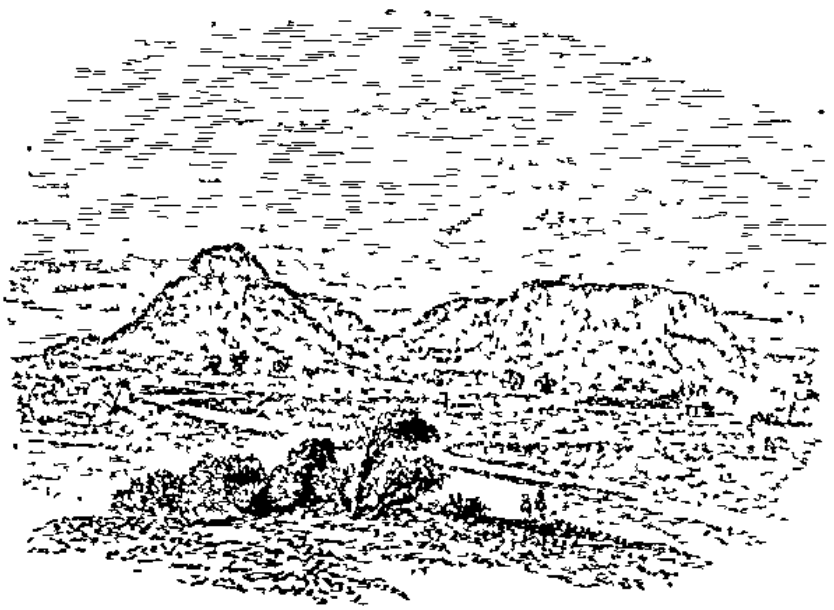
The first overt declaration of Apa Sahib's determination to throw in his lot with Bajee Row, was given on the night of the 24th of November, when the resident received a note from Ramchundur Waugh, intimating that the rajah had received a khelaut, or dress of honour from Poonah, and intended next day to go in state to his camp, to be invested with it, and also formally to assume the title of Senaputee, or commander-in-chief, which had been conferred on him. Mr. Jenkins was invited to assist at the ceremony. Nothing could be more preposterous. Bajee Row was at this moment at open war with the British, and yet Apa Sahib, professedly their ally, was preparing in the most public manner to declare allegiance to him. Mr. Jenkins pointed out these

A D 1817. inconsistencies, and not only refused to take part in the ceremony, but remonstrated against it in the strongest terms. Apa Sahib was not to be thus deterred;

Preparations for hostilities between Apa Sahib and the British

but aware that the performance of the ceremony could only be regarded as an unequivocal declaration of hostility, he immediately showed how ready he was to proceed to extremes by stationing his troops in threatening positions The means of defence were very limited, consisting only of two battalions of native infantry, considerably reduced by sickness, three troops of native cavalry, two companies forming the resident's escort, and a detachment of artillery with four six-pounders. Colonel Scott had the command.

The residency was situated to the west of Nagpoor, and separated from it by a low ridge extending from north to south, and terminated by two heights called the Seetabaldee Hills, about 400 yards apart from each other, and with



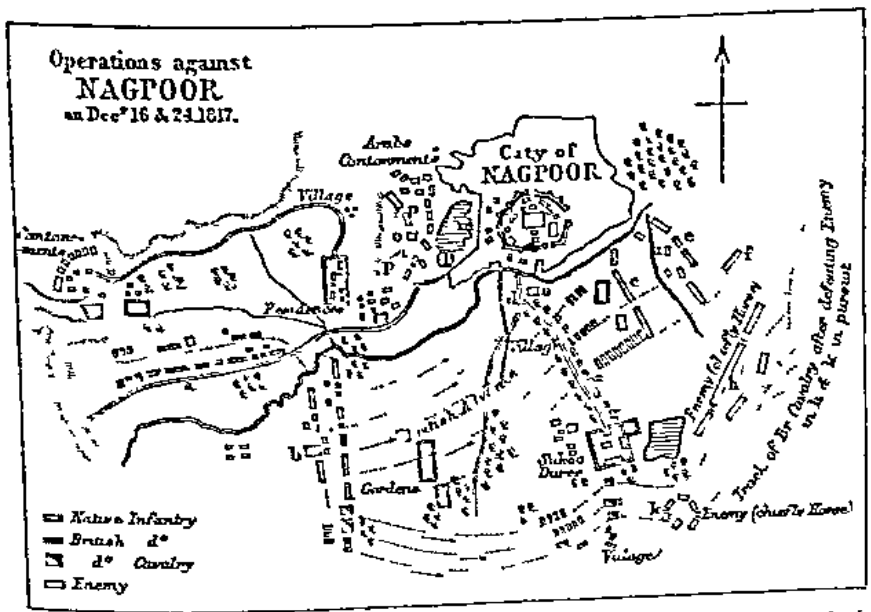
Seetabaldee Hills and Nagpoor Residency —From Prinsep's Narrative.

Position of the British residency

an elevation nowhere exceeding 100 feet. The south hill, the larger of the two, had a flat summit nearly 280 yards long from east to west, and was covered with tombs. The north hill, much less than the other, but rather more elevated, was of a conical shape, and at the top not more than thirty-three yards long by six broad. The slope of both hills was gentle, and the ascent easy, except at a few points where quarries had been opened. The buildings of the residency lay along the western base of the ridge overlooking a spacious plain, the base of the other three sides of the ridge was occupied by native huts irregularly grouped. Colonel Scott made his arrangements as follows. On the north hill he posted 300 men of one of the battalions, with two of the six-pounders, under command of Captain Sadleir. The remainder of this battalion, and the whole of the other, with part of the escort and the rest of the

artillery, were stationed on the south hill. The residency, hastily fitted for defence, was occupied by the other part of the escort, while the three troops of cavalry and some light infantry kept possession of the grounds in front of it. The whole force under Colonel Scott mustered about 1300; the Mahratta army, which lay to the east of the city, and stretched round from east to south at the distance of about three miles from the Seetabaldee Hills, was estimated at 12,000 horse and 8000 foot; of the latter 3000 were Arabs. A D 1817. State of British at Nagpoor

On the 26th of November, though the rajah's cavalry were proceeding in large masses towards the western plain fronting the residency, and his infantry and artillery were taking up positions which menaced the Seetabaldee



a, First British position on 15th Dec
b, Second British position on 16th Dec.
c, Third British position on 16th Dec.
d, Enemy's guns abandoned on British advance
e and f, Position of Colonel M'Leod after enemy's defeat.
g British reserve.
h and i, Enemy's camp and guns playing on British advance
k, Enemy's camp and guns playing on Col. Gahan.
l, Battery of howitzers, opened 20th Dec.
m, Advanced position against fort, 21st Dec
n o, Enemy's magazine
p p, Seetabaldee Hills.

Hills, he kept up the farce of sending pacific messages At sunset two ministers, Nerayun Punt and Nerayunjee Nagria, the latter as notoriously hostile as the other was friendly to British interests, arrived, but before the object of their visit could be ascertained hostilities commenced with a smart fire of musketry, opened by the Arabs almost simultaneously on both hills It was replied to with spirit, and the conflict continued to rage throughout the night. At two in the morning an intermission of some hours took place, and the British availed themselves of it to make up fresh cartridges, and strengthen their position by placing along the exposed brow of the hills sacks of flour and grain, and anything else that might serve for cover. The enemy had made no decided impression, and yet affairs had begun to wear a very gloomy appearance On the northern hill, against which the attack had been specially directed, a heavy loss Commencement of hostilities.

A D 1817. had been sustained. Captain Sadleir was killed, Captain Charleworth the next in command was wounded, and the defenders were so thinned or exhausted that it was necessary to relieve them It was therefore obvious that if the enemy chose to avail themselves of their vast superiority of numbers, and keep up the attack by bringing forward fresh assailants, the defenders must ultimately be overcome by mere exhaustion.

Hostilities with Nagpoor.

Such seemed to be the enemy's plan, and in the meanwhile their cavalry were closing round the residency on the south and west so as to prevent the possibility of escape, and take advantage of any opportunity of a sudden onset in that quarter. At daybreak the fire opened more furiously than ever, additional guns having been brought to bear during the night, and about ten o'clock the explosion of a tumbril on the summit of the northern hill caused so much confusion that the Arabs rushed forward with loud cries and carried it. Thus in possession of the key of the position, the Arabs opened a destructive fire from the gun which they had captured, and two others which they had brought up The first shot killed Lieutenant Clarke and Dr. Neven the surgeon; the second, a round of grape, fatally wounded Mr. Sotheby, the resident's assistant, and disabled four soldiers; and it seemed as if the defenders were about to be completely overpowered, when a gallant exploit saved them. Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the cavalry, under instructions to keep off the enemy's horse, but not to advance into the plain against them, remained at his post while the enemy closed round and hemmed him in on every side. At last they brought two guns to bear upon him, and caused such loss that he chose rather to forget his orders than submit to it. Rushing forth at the head of his troops, he drove the masses of horse in flight before him, captured the two guns, turned them upon the fugitives, and with so much effect that they allowed him to carry them back as trophies to his post. This unexpected and most successful charge so animated the defenders on the ridge that they attacked the Arabs, who had already planted their standards upon it, and forced them to give way. At this moment another tumbril exploded on the northern hill, and the sepoys pushing forward amid the confusion succeeded in recapturing it at the point of the bayonet. The tide of battle was now completely turned, and the Mahrattas gave way on every side. The Arabs, who still showed in some force, having been dispersed by another cavalry charge, the troops on the hills moved down, cleared the surrounding houses and villages of the enemy, and captured all the guns not previously carried off. The enemy, though aware that the British troops were worn out, and that their ammunition was nearly exhausted, had suffered too severely, and were too much intimidated, to try the issue of a second conflict. The victors had good reason to congratulate themselves on this cowardly conduct, since they had already lost about a fourth of their whole number in killed and wounded.

Battle of the Seetabaldee Hills.

Defeat of the Mahrattas.

As soon as the battle was decided, Apa Sahib, as if he thought that his

A.D. 1817

double game had not yet been played out, sent a message to the resident to express his concern for the untoward event. His troops, he said, had acted without his sanction or knowledge, and he was most anxious to renew the former friendship. The resident replied that the final decision now rested with the governor-general, but consented, on the withdrawal of the rajah's army to the east of the city, to a suspension of hostilities. This consent he gave the more readily because he was in daily expectation of reinforcements; and in fact, on the 29th, only two days after the battle, Colonel Gahan, by accelerating his advance, arrived with three additional troops of cavalry and a battalion of native infantry. Another detachment, under Major Pitman, arrived on the 5th of December; and on the 12th and 13th, Colonel Doveton encamped at Seetabaldee with the whole of the second division of the army of the Deccan. The resident was now in a position to dictate terms, and on the 15th made the following propositions to the rajah:—that he should acknowledge having, by his defection, placed his territories at the mercy of the British government—that he should give up all his artillery—that he should disband the Arabs and other mercenary troops, sending them off in certain specified directions, so as to leave Nagpoor and its fort in British occupation—and that he should himself come to the British residency, and remain there as an hostage for performance. On the acceptance of these terms former relations would be restored, and nothing more would be demanded than the cession of as much territory as would meet the expense of the subsidiary force, and a provision for such a degree of internal control as might suffice to prevent a repetition of similar aggression. He was allowed till four o'clock of the following morning to declare his acceptance, and told that in the event of refusing it he would forthwith be attacked.

Terms dictated to Apa Sahib

Apa Sahib endeavoured to obtain a longer respite, and on representing that he was willing to accept the terms, but was prevented by his troops from coming to the residency, the time was prolonged till nine A.M. This hour having arrived without anything being done, Colonel Doveton put his army in order of battle and began to advance against the Mahratta camp This movement thoroughly intimidated the rajah, who now, listening only to his fears, mounted his horse and hastened off with a few attendants to the residency. The whole difficulty was not yet overcome. The artillery remained to be delivered up. The rajah again pleaded for delay, but as the interval might have been used for the clandestine removal of the guns it was peremptorily refused. The arrangement made, therefore, was that the troops should be withdrawn and the artillery abandoned by twelve o'clock. A little before this time Ramchundur Waugh, who had been sent to expedite matters, returned to the residency and reported that all the necessary steps had been taken. When a message to this effect was sent to Colonel Doveton, he saw reason to suspect that some deception was intended, and therefore, instead of only sending a detachment, he resolved to advance his whole line. After taking possession

Treachery of his Arab mercenaries.

A D 1817. sion of thirty-six guns in the arsenal south of the city, and leaving Colonel Scott with a brigade to take charge of them, he was proceeding south-east towards the Sakoo Duree Gardens, where he knew that there were several batteries, when a heavy cannonade suddenly opened on his front and right flank. Before this treacherous attack could be overcome, battery after battery behoved to be carried, and many lives were lost. Ultimately the whole of the artillery, amounting to seventy-five pieces of ordnance, and the Mahratta camp, with all its equipage, including forty elephants, were captured.

Treachery of Apa Sahib's Arab mercenaries.

The above treacherous cannonade, and the conflict following upon it, do not appear to have been at all sanctioned by the rajah. Indeed, the subsequent proceedings made it plain that the blame rested chiefly with the Arabs, who, determined to make the best bargain they could for themselves, expected to gain their object by showing how much mischief they were capable of producing. Accordingly, uniting with another body of mercenaries from Hindoostan, so as to muster nearly 5000 men, they retired into the city on the capture of the guns and the camp, gained possession of the fort, which was of considerable strength, and contained the rajah's palace and other important public buildings, and declared their determination to defend themselves to extremity. As any attempt forcibly to dislodge them must have laid the city in ruins, it was deemed advisable to endeavour to bring them to terms. They were offered a safe conduct to the Nagpoor frontier, and must have been understood to have accepted of the offer, since, in the course of the negotiation, they received all their arrears of pay. This premature compliance with their demands appears to have convinced them that it would be possible to obtain still better terms, and they again announced their determination to hold out. There was thus no longer any alternative, and the siege of the fort was commenced. The means were very inadequate, for the besiegers had no battering train, and were obliged mainly to depend for breaching on such of the captured guns as seemed to be of sufficient calibre. The effect produced was not great, but the western gate, which had been selected as the point of attack, was supposed to be so materially injured as to justify an assault. The assailants had been too sanguine. On approaching the gate it was found to be completely commanded from inner walls, from which the defenders kept up a murderous fire, rendering further advance impossible. This unfortunate repulse cost the storming party a loss of 90 killed and 179 wounded. The gallantry displayed was not however wholly lost, for the Arabs, made aware of the fate which must sooner or later overtake them, became intimidated, and offered to surrender if allowed to march out with their families, baggage, private property, and arms. These terms being granted, the fort was evacuated on the 30th of December, 1817.

They occupy the fort of Nagpoor.

Capitulation made by them

The revolt in the capital had naturally been followed by manifestations of hostility in other parts of Nagpoor. These assumed so formidable an appearance in the eastern part of the valley of the Nerbudda and in Gundwana, that

several small British detachments deemed it prudent to retire to the west and concentrate at Hoshungabad, where they united on the 20th of December. Meanwhile Colonel Hardyman, holding a defensive position in Rewa, had received orders from the governor-general to march immediately to the Nerbudda, and there be guided by the advices he might receive from Mr. Jenkins. In accordance with these orders he pushed forward at the head of a regiment of native cavalry, and a regiment of European infantry, with four guns, and arrived on the 19th of December at Jubulpoor. Here the Mahratta governor was waiting to give him battle with a body of 1000 horse and 2000 foot. They were strongly posted between a rocky eminence on the right, and a large tank with Jubulpoor on the left. Colonel Hardyman after a short cannonade charged the enemy's left, broke it, and then following up his advantage completely cleared the field, inflicting a severe loss on the fugitives. His threatened bombardment of the town and fort was spared by the speedy surrender of both, and he was continuing his course southward, when an intimation from Mr. Jenkins that his services were no longer required, permitted him to return and establish his head-quarters at Jubulpoor. A.D. 1818. Hostilities in other parts of Nagpoor

The hostilities throughout Nagpoor being thus happily terminated, it only remained to settle the future relations with the rajah. To a certain extent these had been already defined by the propositions which the resident had submitted to him, and on the faith of which he claimed to have surrendered. In strict truth he had not done so, for the time allowed had expired before he rode to the residency, and the troops had not been disbanded, nor the whole artillery obtained, until a battle had been fought. Still, as the rajah's surrender had been received without remark, and his subsequent conduct had been satisfactory, to depose him and assume the government would scarcely have been reconcilable with good faith; Mr. Jenkins had therefore, on his own responsibility, prepared the draft of a treaty, by which the rajah, while permitted to occupy the musnud, was to make large cessions of territory, and submit to British control in regard to every branch of his administration, internal as well as external. On the 2d of January, 1818, before this treaty was definitively arranged, the instructions of the governor-general, which had been despatched some time before, but detained owing to the troubled state of the country, arrived. They differed very decidedly from the views on which the resident was proposing to act. Any reconciliation with Apa Sahib was peremptorily forbidden, and the rajahship was to be conferred on a grandson of Ragojee Bhonsla by a daughter. As he was a mere child, a regency of British selection was to conduct the government. Feeling that he was too far committed to give full effect to these instructions, Mr. Jenkins followed out his original proposals, and entered into a treaty, subject, however, to the governor-general's approbation, by which Apa Sahib resumed his seat on the musnud, but engaged to govern by a native ministry of British selection; to throw open all the forts Treaty with Apa Sahib

A.D. 1818. of the country to the discretionary introduction of British garrisons, besides giving up the Seetabaldee Hills and a portion of adjacent ground in perpetuity for the erection of fortresses and a bazaar; to pay all arrears of subsidy; to reside in Nagpoor under British protection; and to cede territories yielding revenue to the amount of twenty-four lacs for the payment of the subsidiary force. This treaty, which reduced the rajah to a mere pageant, sufficiently met the views of the governor-general, and was accordingly confirmed by him. Indeed, the plan of appointing Ragojee Bhonsla's grandson rajah could not have been carried out, as the boy, then about ten years of age, together with his father Gooja Apa, had, previous to Colonel Doveton's arrival, been forcibly sent off to the strong fort of Chanda. The new arrangement proved short-lived, but before proceeding with the details, it will be proper to turn aside, and trace the events which were taking place in other quarters.

Rigorous nature of treaty imposed on Apa Sahib

State of affairs at Holkar's court.

The court of Holkar, during the insanity, and still more after the death of Jeswunt Row, was distracted by numerous unprincipled factions, which made it impossible that any regular and consistent policy could be pursued. Toolasee Baee, who from being a public singer had become Jeswunt Row's favourite mistress, and acquired a complete ascendency over him, was able after his death to secure the succession to a boy of the name of Mulhar Row. He was the son of Jeswunt Row, and as she, having no son of her own, had adopted him, she continued in possession of the regency. Possessed of great personal attractions, engaging manners, and no mean talents, she might have made her position secure, had she not excited general disgust and contempt by her profligacy; and provoked hatred by her vindictiveness and cruelty. With her dewan Gunput Row she carried on a criminal intercourse, which those who could easily have overlooked its immorality and shamelessness were not slow in turning to account for political purposes, and cabals among the chiefs, and mutinies among the troops, were of constant occurrence. At first the policy she pursued was accordant with that of her principal leaders, and she listened readily to the proposal of a new Mahratta confederacy, by which the British influence was to be overthrown. Her advisers, however, being doubtful of its success, were careful not finally to commit themselves, and sent an envoy to the resident at Delhi to assure him of the friendly dispositions of the regent. A treaty similar to that which had been concluded with Scindia was accordingly proposed. By this time it had almost become a necessity with Toolasee Baee and her paramour, who had at last become convinced that without British protection it would be impossible for them longer to make head against disaffected chiefs and a mutinous army. Those opposed to her and to British interests, no sooner saw the course which the negotiation was taking, than they determined at all hazards to prevent it. On the morning of the 20th December, 1817, the young Mulhar Row, being enticed from an outer tent where he was playing, was carried off. At the same instant a guard was placed over Toolasee

Regency of Toolasee Baee

Baee. She suspected the fate intended for her, and tried to anticipate it by refusing all sustenance. Her guards were too impatient to wait for so tardy a death, and hastened off with her in her palanquin to the banks of the Seepra, where they cut off her head and threw her body into the stream. A.D 1818 Death of Toolasee Baee.

The party opposed to the British having now the whole power in their hands, lost no time in showing the use which they meant to make of it, by preparing to encounter the British divisions under Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislop, which, with a view to further the negotiation with Toolasee Baee, had, after forming a junction and halting two days at Oojein, advanced on the 14th of December towards the camp of Holkar. On approaching Mahidpoor on the 21st of December, Sir Thomas Hislop, who was marching along the right bank of the Seepra, discovered the enemy drawn up in line on Hostilities with Holkar.



FIELD OF THE BATTLE OF MAHIDPOOR.
From Valentine's Memoir of the Operations of the British Army during the Mahratta War

the opposite bank, as if for the purpose of disputing the passage of the only practicable ford in the vicinity. Their right was protected by a deep ravine, and their left by a slight bend of the river and a deserted village. This position might have been turned by making a considerable detour, but the British commander determined to take the shortest road, and succeeded without much difficulty in forcing the passage. No sooner, however, had they crossed and begun to emerge from the cover of the banks and a ravine which led to the top of the bank, than they were received with a tremendous cannonade from a double range of batteries mounting seventy guns in front. Advancing with unflinching steadiness in the face of this cannonade, they were immediately formed, and the first and light brigades under Sir John Malcolm attacked the enemy's left, while the cavalry, supported by the second brigade, attacked the right. Both flanks gave way, but the centre stood firm till the second brigade wheeled round and dispersed it. The flight was now general, and the pursuit was continued till light failed. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was estimated at 3000; that of the British was also serious, amounting to 778. Battle of Mahidpoor

A D 1818.

Young Holkar, who was present at the battle of Mahidpoor seated on an elephant, is said to have shed tears on seeing his troops defeated. After the action he was carried to Alloto and placed under the guardianship of Kesaria Bace, his mother, as regent, who appointed Tantia Jog as her dewan. Notwithstanding the defeat some of Holkar's troops still kept the field, and a division under Sir John Malcolm was sent to disperse them. Meanwhile it became apparent that the struggle was hopeless, and overtures were made for peace The negotiation was quickened by the concentration of the army of the Deccan, and the junction of Sir William Keir from Gujerat, and on the 6th of January, 1818, a definitive treaty was concluded. It confirmed Ameer Khan in the territories guaranteed to him by the British—ceded to Zalim Sing Raj, Rana of Kotah, in property, certain districts which he held from Holkar only on lease—renounced all right to lands within and north of the Boonda Hills—and ceded all claims to territory or revenue within and south of the Satpoora range, together with all claims of tribute on the Rajpoot princes. The territories of Holkar were guaranteed in their integrity as now curtailed, free from all claims of any kind on the part of the Peishwa, and the subsidiary force was to be kept up at the Company's expense, but a contingent fixed at 3000 horse was to be maintained by Holkar in a state of complete efficiency, so as to be ready at all times to co-operate with the British troops. It is scarcely necessary to observe that these stipulations deprived Holkar, whose father had recently contended with the British government for supremacy, of real sovereignty, and reduced him, like all the other native powers with whom subsidiary alliances had been formed, to a state of vassalage.

New treaty with Holkar.

Ravages of cholera in the British camp

The sudden insurrections at Poonah and Nagpoor had necessarily interfered to some extent with the operations against the predatory hordes, and an enemy still more formidable than the Mahrattas had, shortly after the conclusion of the treaty with Scindia, made fearful havoc in the centre division of the grand army. Cholera, though known in India from time immemorial, had hitherto been confined to particular seasons and localities, without attracting much notice, but in the middle of 1817 it began to assume the form of a most destructive epidemic Commencing in the eastern districts of Bengal, it proceeded up the right bank of the Ganges, crossed it near Ghazipoor, and passing through Rewa, made its appearance in the centre division in the beginning of November. At first it crept about insidiously, attacking chiefly the lower classes of camp followers Its virulence, however, gradually increased, and by the 14th it was carrying on its ravages in every part of the camp The followers and the native soldiers still continued to furnish its most numerous victims, but Europeans of every rank were attacked, and the governor-general deemed it necessary to guard against the consequences of his own possible death, by providing that, in order to conceal it both from the troops and the enemy, he should be buried secretly in his tent. In one week 764 fighting men

and 8000 followers perished. Death, and the desertions produced by terror, were depopulating the camp, when it was resolved to try the effect of a change of locality. The army accordingly moved south-east from the Sindh towards the Betwa, and crossing it, encamped on its dry and lofty banks at Erich. Whether owing to the change of site, or because it had already exhausted its virulence, the disease disappeared, and the centre division was able again to resume active operations. A.D. 1817

Change of station of the British camp.

The Pindarees, aware of the offensive operations about to be made against them, cantoned, for the rains of 1817, in three durras or encampments. One, under Cheetoo, was situated near Ashta on the Parbutee, about forty miles south west of Bhopaul; another, under Kureem Khan, due north of this town near Bairsea; and the third, under Wasil Mahomed, who by the death of his brother Dost Mahomed had succeeded to the sole command, near Garspoor, thirty-five miles west of Saugur. The enmity between Cheetoo and Kureem Khan was so rancorous as to prevent them from concerting any common course of action; and the native princes most disposed to favour them were so afraid of the consequences, that they confined themselves to general expressions of good-will, without even promising protection to their families and baggage. The Pindarees had thus been thrown entirely on their own resources when the rainy season closed. Meanwhile, General Marshall, commanding the left division of the main army, had moved from Callinger and advanced south-west to Huttah, on the Sonar, which was reached on the 28th of October. During this movement Wasil Mahomed suddenly quitted Garspoor, and penetrating a pass to the westward of General Marshall's route, made his appearance in Bundelcund, part of which he succeeded in plundering before the approach of an adequate force compelled him to retire. General Marshall, continuing his march, arrived at Rylee, to the east of Saugur, on the 8th of November, and opened a communication with Colonel Adams at Hoshungabad. The effect of these movements was to oblige Wasil Mahomed to decamp from Garspoor and hasten westward. Sir John Malcolm had previously arrived in the valley of the Nerbudda; General Donkin was moving with the right division of the grand army in a south-west direction to guard the left bank of the Chumbul; and the governor general, with the centre division, had taken up a position which prevented an escape to the north or east, so that there was every prospect of soon seeing the Pindarees completely enveloped.

Operations against the Pindarees.

The execution of this plan was momentarily endangered by a retrograde movement of Sir Thomas Hislop, who on hearing of the commencement of hostilities at Poonah, hastened off thither in the belief that there the chief danger lay, leaving only the third and fifth divisions of the Deccan army, under Sir John Malcolm and Colonel Adams respectively, to prosecute the Pindaree war. Sir Thomas Hislop was stopped in his retrograde movement by an order from the governor-general, who, believing, as the event afterwards justified,

A D 1817. that he had otherwise sufficiently provided against the Poonah hostilities, enjoined him to return and adhere to the original plan of campaign. Fortunately, the Pindarees had failed to profit by his absence, and by the united operations of General Marshall, Sir John Malcolm, and Colonel Adams, were driven entirely from their usual haunts, Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed, after uniting near Seronge, retiring together in a northerly direction towards Gwalior, while Cheetoo moved westward towards Holkar's army, which had now taken the field.

The Pindarees retreat towards Gwalior

The governor-general, when he learned the movement of the Pindarees upon Gwalior, was at Erich, to which the cholera had driven him for change of site, and determined immediately to retrace his steps to the Sindh. On arriving at the Sonaree ford, within twenty-eight miles S S E. of Gwalior, he sent the advanced guard under Colonel Philpot across the river. This movement, by cutting off the communication of the Pindarees with Gwalior, reduced them to the necessity of endeavouring to force a passage in some other direction, and at the same time convinced Scindia that, humiliating though the treaty was which he had recently been compelled to sign, his only safety consisted in adhering to its terms, and performing his part of them with more alacrity than he had hitherto manifested. For a short time the Pindarees halted in consternation at a considerable distance to the south-west, among the jungles and broken ground in the vicinity of Shahabad. To advance upon Gwalior was now impossible; to retrace their steps southward was equally impossible, as General Marshall and Colonel Adams had seized the points from which it would be easy to intercept them. The practicable openings still remaining seemed to be by the Chumbul into Jeypoor, or by Hurastee into Kotah. The latter was selected, probably because Zalim Sing, the Rajrana, had long been one of their greatest supporters. Now, however, his policy had undergone a change, and he deemed it necessary to give the British a proof of the sincerity with which he had entered into the recent alliance with them, by occupying all passes by which the Pindarees might attempt to force their way. Despair, however, appears to have armed them with extraordinary courage, and they succeeded in clearing a way for themselves in spite of the resistance offered by Zalim Sing's troops. But the respite which they thus obtained was only of short duration. On the 14th of December, General Marshall, who had been following on their track, found that they were encamped only a short distance beyond the pass which they had forced, and hastened forward in the hope of taking them completely by surprise. In this he failed, but the Pindarees, headed by Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed, only escaped by throwing away their loads of grain and other baggage In their next surprise they were still more unfortunate. General Donkin advanced so secretly upon them from the west, that they were not aware of his approach till he surprised their advanced guard in a night bivouac, about thirty miles north-east of Kotah. Kureem Khan's wife was

Their successive defeats

captured and all his state elephants, standards, and other insignia. The main body of the two durras being still six miles distant, had time after hearing of the surprise to burn their tents and baggage before dispersing. The greater part of the fugitives were afterwards cut up by the different detachments which had been closing around them, or murdered by the villagers in retaliation of the cruelties which they had so often suffered at their hands. The two leaders, taking with them nearly 4000 men all well mounted, hastened off to the south, and managed to pass to the left of Colonel Adams' division, while he was manœuvring on the right bank of the Parbutee. A.D. 1818

Rout of the Pindarees.

The only formidable body of Pindarees now existing was the durra headed by Cheetoo, who had retired into Mewar or Odeypoor. Sir John Malcolm, who had arrived at Tullain on the 26th of November, had determined to lose no time in following upon his track. With this view he had proceeded by Sarungpoor to Agur, when the hostile dispositions manifested by the camp of Holkar induced him to fall back upon Oojein, in order to form a junction there with Sir Thomas Hislop. The Pindarees had in the meantime been permitted to encamp close to Holkar's army, and in consequence a body of his followers, as well as of those of Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed, actually took part with it in the battle of Mahidpoor. Cheetoo himself however did not long remain in the vicinity, but moved to the country on the west bank, and near the sources of the Chumbul. He did not however remain long here, and removed north along with the other Pindaree leaders, and the remnants of their durras still kept together, to Jawud, where a chief of the name of Jeswunt Row Bhao, nominally dependent on Scindia, but disposed to act as his own master, had offered them an asylum. In this direction therefore various British detachments proceeded, and Jeswunt Row Bhao was so far intimidated that he compelled the Pindaree leaders to remove with their followers from his neighbourhood. They proceeded at first northwards to Chittoor and then separated: Cheetoo moving towards the frontiers of Gujerat, and Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed towards Malwah. After various doublings, and the endurance of great hardship, partly from the unproductiveness of the country and partly from the hostility of the Bheels and other mountaineers, the main body of Cheetoo's followers, finding the passes towards Gujerat too well guarded to leave any hope of penetrating them, endeavoured, as a last resource, to regain their original haunts in the upper valley of the Nerbudda. Taking a circuitous route, so as to avoid the various British detachments, Cheetoo arrived at Oonchode, about fifty-five miles east of Indore, and on the 24th of January, 1818, ascended the pass of Kanode, which brought him within twenty-five miles of Hindia. Here a British detachment was stationed under Major Heath, who immediately set out in pursuit, and coming upon the Pindaree camp just as night set in, completely dispersed it. Cheetoo afterwards assembled some of his scattered followers, and continued for some time wandering about Malwah.

Pursuit of Cheetoo

Dispersion of his durra.

A.D. 1818. At last he took the resolution of endeavouring to make terms with the British government, and with this view suddenly made his appearance in the camp of the Nabob of Bhopaul, to request his intercession. The proposal he made was to enter the British service with a body of followers, and to receive a jaghire for their maintenance. Being offered nothing more than pardon for the past, and a provision for the future in some part of Hindoostan, he again set off, made his way into Candeish and the Deccan, and shared the fortunes of some of the disorganized bands which had belonged to the Peishwa. At a later period he endeavoured to profit by renewed troubles in Berar, where we shall again meet with him.

War against the Pindarees.

Dispersion of durras of Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed.

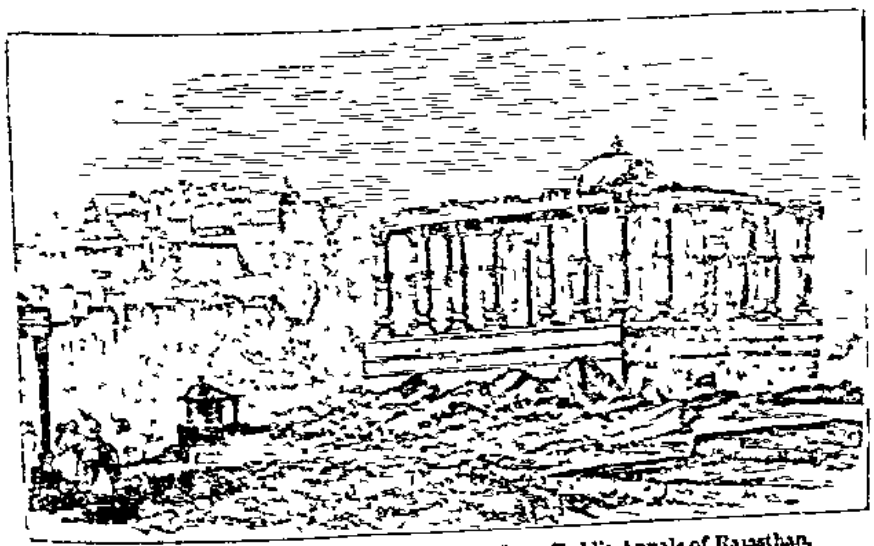
The durras of Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed had entered Malwah in three parties. The largest of the three, headed by Namdar Khan, Kureem Khan's nephew, after passing round the camp of Sir Thomas Hislop at Mundisoor, crossed the Chumbul, and moved eastward to Kotree, a village on the banks of the Kalee Sindh. Here they bivouacked on the 12th of January, 1818, and had no idea of any immediate danger, when Colonel Adams detached a body of native cavalry under Major Clarke to beat up their quarters. Having arrived before daylight of the 13th, and found them either so lulled into security, or worn out by fatigue, that they were totally unconscious of his approach, he determined to make more sure of success by waiting till the dawn, and in the meantime so disposing his regiment in two bands, that while one made the attack, the other was waiting to intercept the fugitives at the point by which it was foreseen that on the first alarm they would attempt to make their escape. The stratagem completely succeeded, and of the whole body, estimated at 1500, not more than a third escaped. The other two parties were chased from place to place without intermission during nine days, and arrived on the confines of Bhopaul in a state bordering on despair. As the position of the Pindarees had become absolutely hopeless, it was presumed that they would now be ready for unqualified submission, and accordingly intimation was conveyed to them through the Nabob of Bhopaul, that if they threw themselves on the mercy of the British government the chiefs would be provided for in some districts remote from their old haunts, and the lives of their followers would be spared. Namdar Khan at once availed himself of this intimation, and was allowed to settle in Bhopaul, the nabob becoming responsible for his good behaviour. Wasil Mahomed sought refuge in Gwalior, and remained for a time concealed in Scindia's camp. The resident, on ascertaining the fact, called upon Scindia to apprehend him He refused as a point of honour to do so, and wished the resident to undertake the ungrateful task, but was ultimately compelled to execute it, the governor-general insisting not only that he should do it himself, but do it in broad day, in order that all India might see that an enemy of the British government could nowhere find an asylum.

Kureem Khan, instead of accompanying his durra into Malwah, had remained

A D. 1818.

at Jawud, under the covert protection of Jeswunt Row Bhao. This chief was in charge of one division of Scindia's troops, which, in terms of the treaty, were to co-operate against the Pindarees, under the immediate direction of British officers. Captain Caulfield, sent to Jawud for that purpose, was received with the greatest external deference, but soon discovered that Jeswunt Row Bhao was much more disposed to co-operate with the Pindarees than against them, and still continued to harbour several of their leaders whom he had ostensibly dismissed. The governor-general was so indignant at this double-dealing that, on the 24th of January, 1818, he despatched instructions to proceed against Jeswunt Row Bhao as a public enemy. Before these instructions arrived, General Brown, by whose detachment they were to have been executed, had anticipated them. Captain Caulfield, after in vain demanding the surrender of

Kureem Khan at Jawud.



JAIN TEMPLE IN FORTRESS OF KUMULNER.—From Todd's Annals of Rajasthan.

the harboured Pindarees, withdrew on the 28th of January to General Brown's camp. The very next day a squadron of cavalry, sent by the general to occupy a pass by which it was understood that the harboured Pindarees were about to escape from Jawud, was fired upon both from this town and Jeswunt Row Bhao's camp. This overt act of hostility left no room for hesitation, and the whole British line was immediately ordered out for an assault on the enemy's posts. They were all forced with scarcely any loss, and the town itself was stormed, after blowing open the gate by a twelve-pounder. Jeswunt Row Bhao escaped by the fleetness of his horse with only a few attendants, and the places and districts which he had recently seized from Odeypoor returned to the Rana, now a British ally. Among the places thus restored was Kumulner, situated thirty-five miles N.N.W. of Odeypoor, and regarded as one of the strongest hill-forts in India. Kureem Khan, who was concealed in Jawud when it was stormed, succeeded with the utmost difficulty in getting off on foot For some time he lived in the neighbouring jungles, and after various adven-

Storming of Jawud.

A D 1818. tures submitted to his fate by surrendering to Sir John Malcolm on the 14th of February. He was finally settled with his family in the Goruckpoor district, not far from the frontiers of Nepaul, on a property which yielded about £1600 a year, and spent the rest of his life as a peaceable and industrious farmer. Wasil Mahomed, placed under surveillance at Ghazipoor, on the Ganges, thirty-five miles north-east of Benares, could not be reconciled to his lot, and after an ineffectual endeavour to escape, poisoned himself. The Pindaree war, though Cheetoo was still at large, might now be considered terminated Another war, rather more worthy of the name, since the once formidable Peishwa was the enemy to be encountered, was about the same time brought to a conclusion. The remaining details must now be given.

Fate of Pindaree leaders

Continued pursuit of the Peishwa

The Peishwa, after his defeat at Poonah, on the 16th of November, 1817, fled southward pursued by General Smith. It was thought that he intended to shut himself up in one of his hill-forts to abide a siege. He had a very different object in view. Probably from having penetrated the governor-general's intention of supplanting his authority by that of the rajah, who had long been kept as a mere pageant in the hill-fort of Wusota, fifteen miles north-west of Sattarah, he had sent forward a party to carry him off with his family. This object having been accomplished, Bajee Row, now possessed of the persons of those whose legal title being better than his own might have become formidable rival claimants, turned eastward to Punderpoor. General Smith, after providing for the occupation of Poonah, commenced his pursuit, and on the 29th of November forced the Salpa Pass, leading to the table-land in which the Kistna has its source He had not proceeded thus far undisturbed, for Gokla, with 5000 of the Peishwa's best horse, kept hovering on his line of march, ready to seize any advantage that might offer. Bajee Row managed in the meantime to keep two long marches in advance, and on leaving Punderpoor on the 6th of December, succeeded by getting round the pursuing force in advancing rapidly to the north-west Passing about midway between Seroor and Poonah, he continued his flight northward to Wattoor, on the road to Nassik, and received a considerable addition to his force by the junction of his old favourite, Trimbukjee Dainglia Nassik now seemed to be his object. If it was, he had lost the opportunity by loitering at Wattoor, for General Smith, who, in continuing the pursuit, took a route considerably to the east, had advanced so far that on the 26th of December, when the Peishwa was still at Wattoor, he was to the north-east of him, and moving in a line by which his further progress by the Nassik road would be inevitably intercepted. The Peishwa accordingly, after making a march to the north of Wattoor, returned to it, and on the 28th December hastened southward on the direct road to Poonah.

The advance of the Peishwa in the direction of Poonah naturally created alarm, and Colonel Burt, the officer in command, having no doubt that an attack was meditated, judged it necessary to solicit the reinforcement of a

battalion from Seroor. Captain Staunton of the Bombay establishment was accordingly detached at six in the evening of the 31st December, with the 2d battalion of the 1st regiment of Bombay native infantry, 600 strong, twenty-six European artillerymen under Lieutenant Chisholm of the Madras artillery, and about 300 auxiliary horse under Lieutenant Swanston. At ten in the morning of New-year's Day, 1818, Captain Staunton, on reaching the heights above Korigaon, perceived the plain below covered with the Peishwa's army, estimated at 20,000 horse and 8000 foot, a large proportion Arabs, and therefore superior to the ordinary native Indian infantry. He immediately endeavoured to gain possession of the village, under cover of which, as it was surrounded by a wall, and rendered inaccessible to cavalry on the south by the bed of the Beema, he might be able to maintain himself, at least till he could be relieved. The enemy, aware of his design, endeavoured to frustrate it by pushing forward a body of infantry. The two parties arrived nearly at the same time, and each obtaining possession of part of the village a desperate struggle ensued. It continued without intermission from noon till sunset. At first the British were the assailants, and endeavoured to dislodge the Arabs. Having failed in this they were obliged in turn to defend their own post, the Arabs keeping up a galling fire from a small fort which they had seized, and from terraced roofs of the houses, and at the same time rushing on with desperate courage on the very points of the bayonets, in the face of murderous discharges from the two admirably served guns. During this protracted conflict the British soldiers, besides being exhausted by their previous march, and obliged to encounter the fresh parties which the enemy, from an overwhelming superiority of numbers, were able from time to time to bring forward, remained without either food or water. Towards evening their position became critical in the extreme. Of the eight officers, Lieutenant Chisholm had been killed, and Lieutenants Pattinson, Connellan, and Swanston, and Assistant-surgeon Wingate wounded, so that only Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Innes, and Assistant-surgeon Wylie remained effective. A large proportion of the artillery, too, had fallen or been disabled, and not a few of the other soldiers, besides being thinned by casualties, were sinking under fatigue. At this time the enemy succeeded in capturing one of the guns, and seizing a choultry in which many of the wounded had been deposited. The first use they made of this success was to commence a horrid butchery of the wounded. Assistant-surgeon Wingate was literally hewn to pieces, and a similar fate was prepared for Lieutenants Swanston and Connellan, when the choultry was recovered by a sudden onset, and the murdering Arabs within were bayoneted. The recapture of the gun took place under circumstances still more extraordinary. They are thus related by Captain Duff:[1]—"Lieutenant Thomas Pattinson, adjutant of the battalion, lying mortally wounded, being shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was

A D 1818.

Engagement with the Peishwa's army at Korigaon

[1] Duff's Mahrattas, vol. iii. p. 435, 436.

A D 1818.

taken, than getting up, he called to the grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket by the muzzle, rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball through his body completely disabled him. Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the sepoys thus led were irresistible, the gun was retaken, and the dead Arabs, literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended."

Battle of Korigaon.

When the gun was recovered, the body of Lieutenant Chisholm was found beside it with the head cut off. Captain Staunton took advantage of this barbarous mutilation to point it out to his men, and tell that such was the treatment awaiting all who should fall dead or alive into the hands of the Mahrattas. Some had previously begun to talk of surrender, but all now declared their determination to maintain the fight to the last, and if necessary die to a man. While thus animated with new courage, they succeeded in obtaining a supply of water, and were also enabled in some measure to recruit their strength, as the enemy, now evidently discouraged, began to relax their efforts, and by nine at night completely evacuated the village. When the morning dawned the Mahrattas were still hovering around, but appeared to draw off in the direction of Poonah. They were in fact preparing for flight, in consequence of intelligence that General Smith was approaching. Captain Staunton, not aware of this fact, believed that they were taking up a position in order to intercept his advance to Poonah, and therefore determined on retracing his steps to Seroor. As soon as it was dark he commenced his retreat, and without knowing the cause, was agreeably surprised to find that no attempt was made to molest him He had lost of the battalion, and of the artillery, in killed and wounded, 175 men; about a third of the auxiliary horse also were killed, wounded, and missing. Among the wounded whom he was able to bring along with him, was the gallant Lieutenant Pattinson, respecting whom the following additional particulars are furnished by Captain Duff:—"Lieutenant Pattinson was a very powerful man, being six feet seven inches in height; nothing could exceed his heroic conduct on the memorable occasion when he received his wounds; he did not expire until the regiment reached Seroor, but unfortunately in his last moments he laboured under an impression that his corps had been defeated, which caused him great distress."

Defeat and flight of the Mahrattas.

Conduct of Bajee Row

The loss of the Mahrattas at the battle of Korigaon was nearly 600. Both Gokla and Trimbukjee Dainglia were present directing the attacks, and the latter was at one time within the village. Bajee Row viewed the conflict from a rising ground on the opposite side of the river, about two miles distant, and frequently expressed his impatience, tauntingly asking his commanders, "where were now their boasts of defeating the English, when they could not overcome one battalion" The Rajah of Sattarah, who sat beside him, having put up an *astalgeer* or screen from the sun, the Peishwa begged him to put it down, "otherwise the English would send a cannon-ball through it." This incident,

not improbable in itself, is very characteristic of Bajee Row, whose cowardice was notorious. When the battle was lost, and General Smith's approach became known, he started off for the south, and never halted till he reached the banks of the Gatpurba. To his surprise he found part of a country which he believed to be friendly already in possession of the British. General (afterwards Sir Thomas Monro), who had been sent from Madras to settle the districts of the Carnatic, ceded by the treaty of Poonah in 1817, had produced this change by collecting a few regulars in addition to his own escort, and taking advantage of the disaffection of the native population to the Mahratta rule. Alarmed at this state of matters, and also at the approach of General Pritzler, who had joined in the pursuit, the Peishwa turned round and pursued his flight northward to the vicinity of Meeruj. General Pritzler was now close upon his track, and Gokla sustained considerable loss by a smart action to which he was brought while endeavouring as usual to facilitate his escape. Meanwhile General Smith coming from the north, prevented the Peishwa's further progress in that direction, and he again decamped for the south. General Smith's and General Pritzler's divisions being thus brought into communication, united their forces near Sattarah on the 8th of February. The fort on being summoned immediately surrendered, and the rajah's flag being hoisted, a manifesto was published, declaring that the British government had determined to establish the Rajah of Sattarah in an independent sovereignty, and completely extinguish the rule of the Peishwa, by annexing his territories to those of the Company. The latter object had already been in a great measure accomplished, since Bajee Row, hunted about from post to post, could not be said to possess anything but the ground which he actually occupied.

A.D. 1818.

Continued flight of the Peishwa.



Sir Thomas Monro.—After a picture by M. A. Shee R.A.

Capture of Sattarah.

The comparative ease with which the Peishwa had hitherto eluded his pursuers seemed to prove something defective in the mode of pursuit, and the two divisions of Generals Smith and Pritzler having been placed at the disposal of Mr. Elphinstone, who had been appointed commissioner with full powers for the settlement of the territory formerly belonging to the Peishwa, it was resolved to form a new distribution of the troops, by employing the artillery and most of the infantry in the reduction of the various forts in the southern Mahratta districts, and continuing the pursuit of the Peishwa with the cavalry and a light division, consisting of the horse artillery, two squadrons of his

New plan adopted for capturing the Peishwa.

A.D. 1818. majesty's 22d dragoons, the 2d and 7th regiments of Madras cavalry, 1200 auxiliary horse, and 2500 infantry. The former service was assigned to General Pritzler, who captured in succession the strongholds of Singhur, Vizierghur, and Poorundur. These important captures were followed by the surrender of a number of minor places as soon as the army appeared before them. The forts in the Southern Concan yielded with equal facility to Colonel Prother, who had been sent into it with an armament from Bombay; while General Monro, who had completely occupied the whole country to the south of the Malpurba, succeeded without much difficulty in reducing the forts of Badamy and Bhagulkote. In consequence of this uninterrupted chain of success many of the principal Mahratta jaghirdars made their submission.

Capture of Mahratta strongholds

Continued pursuit of the Peishwa.

General Smith, to whom the pursuit of the Peishwa had been assigned, finding that he had fled eastward beyond the Beema, and its tributary Seena, as far as Sholapoor, set out on the 13th of February, and on the 19th arrived at Yellapoor. Here he learned that the Peishwa was again moving west, and might in all probability be met with about Punderpoor. A night march was accordingly made in that direction, but it was only to learn that the Peishwa had once more changed his route and proceeded twenty miles north to Ashtee, where he was reported to be totally unconscious of the vicinity of a British force. Encouraged by this information General Smith, taking only the cavalry and horse artillery, hastened across the Beema at Keroulee, and at half past eight on the morning of the 20th, had the satisfaction of hearing the Peishwa's kettle-drums beat in preparation for a march. It had been hastily resolved upon, for the general's approach, previously unsuspected, had just become known. Bajee Row, as usual, thought only of his personal safety, and set off followed by the main body of his army. Gokla, to whom he had previously sent a taunting message for having allowed the army to be thus surprised, only replied by promising that his rear would be well guarded. He kept his word Detaining a body of about 4000 horse to support him, he took his station with 500 across the line by which the British cavalry were advancing. His friends advising him to fall back and return with a more adequate force, he simply answered, "Whatever is to be done must be done here." As soon as the British were within musket-shot the Mahrattas fired an ineffectual volley, and then, to the number of about 300, with Gokla at their head, made a charge by galloping down diagonally across the front, and suddenly wheeling round on the flank of the 7th regiment of cavalry as they were forming after crossing a ravine. The momentary confusion thus produced was soon repaired by Major Dawes, who, charging with his dragoons along the rear of the 7th regiment, dashed into the midst of the Mahrattas and dispersed them No further resistance was attempted, and the fugitives were followed for about five miles. Though the loss of the enemy did not exceed 100 men, the results of the victory were most important. Gokla, on whose fidelity, courage, and military talents the Peishwa

His camp surprised

A D 1818.

Attempt of the Peishwa to reach Nagpoor.

During these transactions at Nagpoor, the Peishwa was continuing his flight. On arriving at Kopergaon, the pursuit, in consequence of General Smith having turned aside to escort the Rajah of Sattarah to his new sovereignty, seemed so far abated, that he ventured to pay a visit to Nassik, and then proceeded northwards to the vicinity of Chandore, apparently in the hope of being able to pass through Candeish into Malwah. In this direction, however, his further progress was arrested by the first division of the army of the Deccan, which, in the beginning of March, had crossed the Taptee, on its return to the south. As he was at the same time threatened by General Smith from the west and General Doveton from the south-east, there was only one other direction open to him. This was due east. He immediately began to follow it, and not without the hope of being able in some measure to retrieve his fortunes. Gunput Row, and others in the interest of Apa Sahib, had laboured to convince



View of Chanda

From Prinsep's Narrative of the Political and Military Transactions of India under the Marquis of Hastings

him that his presence in Nagpoor would be followed by a general insurrection in favour of the Mahrattas, and his object therefore now was to join Apa Sahib, whom he expected to find at Chanda. This scheme had been frustrated by the precautions of Mr. Jenkins, who, besides arresting the rajah and his ministers, had despatched Colonel Scott with the greater part of the force then at Nagpoor towards Chanda, and had also particularly called the attention of Colonel Adams to the importance of attempting the immediate reduction of this fortress. The consequence was that the Peishwa found himself suddenly stopped short in his advance, and learned that Apa Sahib, instead of waiting for him at Chanda, was a prisoner within the British residency. For some days he seemed unable to decide what his next route should be, shifting his ground between the Wurda and the Payn Gunga, but not venturing to cross either of those rivers. Meanwhile, the divisions of General Doveton and Colonel Adams were hemming him in, and making escape almost impossible.

His scheme frustrated

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On the 17th of April, Colonel Adams set out from Pipalkote, and had scarcely marched five miles on the road to Seonee, not far from the junction of the Payn Gunga with the Wurda, where the enemy were understood to be encamped, when he came in sight of the van of the Peishwa's army, flying from General Doveton by the very road by which he (Colonel Adams) was advancing. The encounter was in consequence inevitable, but the Mahrattas, anxious only to escape, made no resistance, and were easily thrown into confusion. The nature of the ground unfortunately favoured their flight, and they disappeared through the jungle, leaving above 1000 on the field. The British loss was only two wounded. Five guns, all that the Peishwa possessed, were taken, together with three elephants and 200 camels. The elephants, known to be those on which his treasure usually was laden, were expected to yield a rich booty, but the whole had disappeared in the confusion except 11,000 rupees. Bajee Row had, as usual, on the first appearance of danger, mounted his horse and galloped off. General Doveton, who was only twelve miles distant when this action was fought, immediately took up the pursuit, and dividing his force into two bodies, continued close upon the heels of the Mahratta army during five successive days, during which famine and fatigue did as much execution on the enemy as the sword. A few days later, desertion left the Peishwa with little more than a third of the adherents who had encamped with him at Seonee.

The Peishwa encountered by a British force.

The Peishwa, after his last discomfiture, fled south-west to Boree, on an affluent of the Godavery, and then turned northwards, intending to cross the Taptee and penetrate if possible into Hindoostan. Before following his future fortunes some incidents which occurred in the south may be mentioned. On the 31st of March a force prepared for the attack of Wusota, the stronghold in which the Rajah of Sattarah and his family had been kept, completely invested it. Though reputed one of the strongest places in India, it could only have been so before gunpowder was invented, as all its defences by nature and art were rendered unavailing by the proximity of a hill called Old Wusota, which commanded it. The breaching batteries, erected on this hill, opened with such destructive effect, that one day's fire sufficed to compel a surrender. Valuables to the amount of nearly three lacs were found within the place, and restored to the rajah, to whose family they belonged, the troops receiving a compensation. Two British officers, Lieutenants Morrison and Hunter, who were taken prisoners at the commencement of the Poonah hostilities, were confined in the dungeons of the fort. They "were found," says Captain Duff, "in a dress of coarse unbleached cotton, made into a form neither European nor Indian, but partaking of the nature of both; their beards had grown, and their appearance was, as may be imagined, extraordinary; but their health was perfectly good. They had been kept in ignorance of the advance of their countrymen, or the state of the war; the firing, in driving in the outposts, was represented by their guard as the attack of some insurgents

Capture of Wusota, and release of the Rajah of Sattarah.

A D 1818. in the neighbourhood; the bursting of the shells over their heads was the first intimation of approaching deliverance, and the most joyful sound that had reached their ears for five dreary months." To the honour of Gokla it should be mentioned that a letter was found in his own hand-writing, addressed to the killedar, and desiring him to treat the two poor Europeans well.

Re-establishment of the Rajah of Sattarah.

On the 11th of April, shortly after the fall of Wusota, the Rajah of Sattarah was, with great pomp, seated on his throne by Mr. Elphinstone the commissioner. The policy of thus erecting what was virtually a new Mahratta sovereignty is very questionable Had it been what it professed to be, a real sovereignty, it might have excited expectations which it was never meant to gratify, and kept alive recollections which it would have been safer to suppress. As it was only a nominal sovereignty, the rajah continued to be as formerly, little better than a pageant. Captain Duff, the author of the *History of the Mahrattas*, was the agent selected by Mr. Elphinstone to arrange the form, or rather to exercise the powers of the newly established government. He had thus the best opportunity of judging of the result, and though he speaks with some reserve, his language certainly indicates an unfavourable opinion. The Rajah Pertab Siew (or Sing), who was in his twenty-seventh year, was "naturally intelligent and well disposed; but bred amongst intrigue, surrounded by men of profligate character, and ignorant of everything except the etiquette and parade of a court. His whole family entertained the most extravagant ideas of their own consequence, and their expectations were proportionate, so that, for a time, the bounty which they experienced was not duly appreciated." Subsequently the rights of the rajah were defined by a formal treaty, which bound him to hold his territory "in subordinate co-operation with the British government;" and subject to this condition, he was invested with complete sovereign powers. On this arrangement Captain Duff simply remarks, that "the boon thus conferred by the British nation was certainly appreciated by the country generally, as well as by his relations and himself; but time must prove whether this liberal experiment, on the part of the authorities of the East India Company, will be attended with any lasting good effect to the governors or the governed." The territory bestowed upon the rajah extended between the Wurna and Neera, from the Syadree Mountains, a range of the Western Ghauts, on the west, to Punderpoor, near the Nizam's frontier, on the east, and yielded directly to the rajah an estimated revenue of thirteen lacs, 75,000 rupees (£137,500), together with three lacs granted in jaghire, and three lacs permanently alienated, thus making the aggregate revenue of the whole territory about £200,000. Though anticipating the narrative, it may here be mentioned that the result, of which Captain Duff spoke so doubtfully, did not prove satisfactory, and that ultimately advantage was taken of a failure of direct heirs to extinguish the rajahship, by declaring the whole to be British territory.

Extent of territory bestowed upon him

On the 13th of April, General Pritzler, after detaching part of his division to

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assist in the capture of the forts north of Poonah, proceeded southward with the remainder to place himself under the orders of General Monro, who, it will be remembered, had with very inadequate means reduced Badamy and secured other important advantages. Thus reinforced, he was able to accomplish a design which he had for some time contemplated. This was to attack the infantry and guns which the Peishwa, in order to facilitate his flight, had left behind at Sholapoor. Setting out on the 26th of April, he crossed the Beema on the 7th of May, and two days after arrived before Sholapoor, the town and fort of which was strongly garrisoned with Arabs, while the main body of the Peishwa's infantry, with eleven guns of his field train, was encamped under its walls. On the 10th, when the pettah was attacked and carried by escalade, General Monro, perceiving that the enemy were moving off in small parties from the camp, detached General Pritzler in pursuit, with three troops of the 22d dragoons, and about 400 irregular horse. When overtaken, a few miles from the town, the enemy were marching in pretty close column. The attack at once broke and dispersed them, the greater part throwing down their arms and saving themselves by flight. The Arabs, who disdained this cowardly mode of escape, paid dearly for their courage, and fell in great numbers. On the 15th of May, after a single day's bombardment, the fort surrendered, and with it the whole of the Peishwa's remaining artillery, amounting to thirty-seven guns. During these operations the British loss in killed and wounded was only ninety-seven, while that of the enemy in killed alone exceeded 800

Affair of Sholapoor.

Almost simultaneously with these successes, the fort of Chanda, the chief stronghold of the Rajah of Nagpoor, was taken by Colonel Adams. On learning that both Generals Doveton and Smith were in hot pursuit of the Peishwa, with every prospect of success, he turned east and sat down before Chanda on the 9th of May. The poisoning of the wells in the line of his approach seemed to indicate the determination of the commandant to hold out to extremity, while the natural and artificial strength of the place, and a garrison of upwards of 3000 men, furnished him amply with the means Influenced partly by these considerations, Colonel Adams endeavoured to avoid the necessity of a siege by an offer of favourable terms These, however, were indignantly rejected, the commandant, as if determined to make capitulation impossible, having not only detained the messenger, but, it is alleged, barbarously blown him from a gun There was now therefore no alternative, and the siege commenced

Advance against Chanda.

Chanda, situated eighty-five miles south of Nagpoor, was about six miles in circuit, and inclosed by a stone wall, flanked at intervals with round towers of sufficient size and strength to carry the heaviest guns. Near its centre stood the citadel crowning a commanding height Access to the place was rendered difficult, on the north by a large tank and dense jungle, and in other directions by the Erace and Jurputi, two affluents of the Wurda, which running along its eastern and western faces, met at the distance of about 400 yards to

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the south. Colonel Adams took up his position in this last direction, and selected the south-east angle for the point of attack. A breaching battery, erected only 250 yards from this point, opened on the morning of the 19th of May, and before evening had made a breach which was pronounced practicable. The storm took place on the 20th, and succeeded with little loss to the assailants, while at least 500 of the garrison were killed. The commandant was among the number, and the defenders of the citadel, dispirited in consequence, forthwith abandoned it. Colonel Adams, thus successful beyond expectation, was returning to the cantonment at Hoshungabad, when the cholera broke out among his troops, and in a few days carried off more men than he had lost during the whole of the military operations. The scourge indeed had now spread over the whole country, and no part of India, from the mountains of Nepaul to Cape Comorin, escaped.

Storming of Chanda.

Some other captures, either from their own importance or accompanying circumstances, are deserving of notice. In the Concan, and in the adjacent country, both below and above the Ghauts, Colonel Prother, who had been sent with a detachment from Bombay, succeeded in the reduction of several strongholds. One of these, Raighur, situated among the mountains, thirty-two miles south-west from Poonah, was regarded by the Mahrattas as impregnable, and had accordingly been selected by the Peishwas as the chief depository of their treasures. In April, 1818, when Colonel Prother appeared before it, it was the residence of Varanasee Bai, the wife of the Peishwa, who had selected it as the most secure asylum that could be found for her, and was defended by a picked garrison of 1000 men, mostly Arabs On the 24th of April the pettah was gained, and shortly afterwards, mortars and howitzers being with great difficulty brought into position, the bombardment commenced. A safe-conduct had previously been offered to the Bai, but the officers of the garrison, determined on resistance, did not communicate it to her, and the shells continued to be thrown in for fourteen days with such destructive effect that most of the buildings were laid in ruins. At last, a shell having set fire to the residence of the Bai, she insisted on a surrender, and the garrison capitulated on being permitted to march out with their private property and arms.

Capture of Raighur

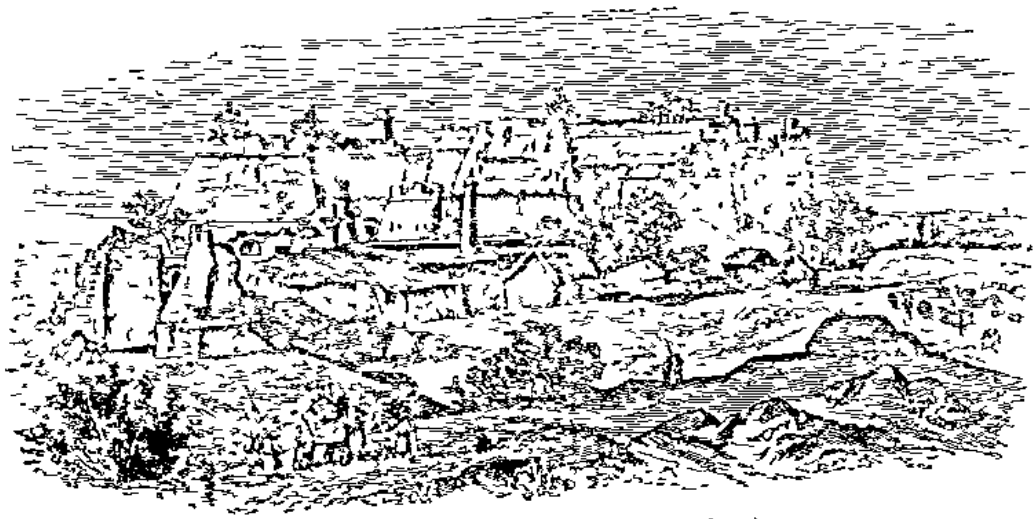
Though the Peishwa was still at liberty, the great objects of the campaign had been accomplished, and the governor-general therefore determined to reduce his military establishments. The army of the Deccan was first dissolved, and accordingly, Sir Thomas Hislop began, in the middle of January, 1818, to march southwards with the first division, after reinforcing the third, which was still to remain with Sir John Malcolm in Malwah. Having traversed the country between the Nerbudda and the Taptee, he arrived on the 27th of February at Talneer, situated on the right or north bank of the latter river. As this was one of the places which Holkar had ceded by the late treaty, no difficulty was anticipated in obtaining the delivery of it, and the baggage pre-

Term of Tal-

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ceding the division advanced into the plain without any suspicion of danger. The first intimation of hostility was given by the firing of a round shot from the fort. A summons to surrender was immediately sent to the commandant, and he was distinctly warned that, if resistance was offered, he and his garrison, as acting contrary to the orders of his own sovereign who had ceded the place, and in defiance of the British government, to which it now rightfully belonged, would be treated as rebels. The commandant refused to receive the letter containing this warning, but its purport was verbally communicated to him. It is therefore to be presumed that when he determined to resist, and gave open proof of it by commencing a fire of musketry which proved fatal to several British soldiers, he had counted the cost, and was ready if unsuccessful to pay

Proceedings before Talneer.



VIEW OF TALNEER IN 1818.—From Prinsep's Narrative.

the penalty. The subsequent proceedings having led to much important discussion, must be given with some detail.

The message to the killedar or commandant was sent between seven and eight in the morning. It intimated to him that the order from Holkar to surrender the fort was in Sir Thomas Hislop's possession, called upon him to send out some person to examine and recognize its genuineness, in order that the surrender might take place before noon, and concluded with the above warning as to the consequences of refusal. The messenger was detained, and noon having arrived without any answer, the provisional batteries which had been hastily prepared against the place opened their fire. At the same time the commander-in-chief instructed the deputy adjutant-general, Colonel Macgregor Murray, "that nothing less than unconditional surrender would be received; that the lives of the garrison should be guaranteed; that no promise whatever could be given to the killedar for his, but that he would be held personally answerable for his acts." About three o'clock a person came out from the fort and inquired whether terms would be given. Colonel Murray answered as

Its resistance, notwithstanding Holkar's orders to surrender

A.D. 1818. above instructed, and another hour having elapsed without any appearance of surrender, the detachments selected for the assault moved forward. It had been intended to blow open the outer gate, and two six-pounders had been carried up for that purpose. It was unnecessary, however, to use them, as the wall of the gate had been so much injured as to give a ready passage to the storming party. They found the second gate open, and were rushing on to the third gate, when a number of unarmed persons, apparently intending to escape, came out from the wicket, and were placed under a guard. At the third and fourth gates the assailants met with no resistance. On arriving at the fifth they found the wicket open, or saw it opened from within, and the garrison, which consisted of 300 Arabs, standing behind it. Some parley took place, the Arabs demanding terms, and the assailants insisting on their unconditional surrender, with an assurance that their lives would be saved. It is very probable that the parties were unintelligible to each other, but Colonel Murray and Major Gordon, understanding that the surrender was acquiesced in, passed the wicket with a few grenadiers. No sooner had they entered than—from causes which have not been satisfactorily explained, some attributing it to treachery, others to misunderstanding, and others to a rash attempt to deprive several of the Arabs of their arms—Major Gordon and the grenadiers were shot or cut down, and Colonel Murray, after being dangerously stabbed, was only saved by being dragged back through the wicket, which had fortunately been kept open. The assailants now infuriated forced their passage, and put every man of the garrison to the sword.

Assault of Talneer.

General massacre.

This general massacre, though certainly much to be lamented, was inevitable under the circumstances. The storming party, having every reason to believe that their comrades had been treacherously murdered, followed the natural impulse of the moment, and took summary vengeance. It has been argued that there was no treachery, as there was no surrender, and that the Arabs in attacking those who had entered within the wicket, only understood that they were repelling force by force. If so, they brought their fate upon themselves, since, according to the rigorous but well known laws of war, troops standing an assault are not entitled to quarter. The slaughter of the garrison, therefore, being either justifiable or inevitable, need not be further discussed. But a very important question still remains. Among the persons who issued from the wicket of the third gate and were placed under a guard was the killedar himself. This fact was not observed at the time, as there was nothing in his dress to distinguish him, and he did not make himself known. Afterwards when the assault was over, it was determined not to give him the benefit of any surrender, real or supposed. He was therefore tried on the spot, condemned, and in the course of the evening hanged on one of the bastions. Was this legal? Was it accordant with justice and humanity?

The killedar hanged as a rebel.

When the proceedings at Talneer became known in England they produced

a very strong sensation. The execution of the killedar in particular was severely animadverted upon, and not only the courts of directors and proprietors, but both Houses of Parliament, in passing votes of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Deccan, specially excepted his execution of the killedar, as an act on which further explanation was required. This explanation was furnished by Sir Thomas Hislop in a very long despatch, addressed to the governor-general in council, on the 10th of September, 1819. The only part of it necessary to be quoted is his account of the evidence on which the sentence proceeded:—"At the investigation I attended, and was assisted by your lordship's political agent (Captain Briggs) and the adjutant-general (Colonel Conway). Evidence was taken in the killedar's presence, by which it appeared that my communication sent to him in the morning had been delivered, and understood by him and several others in the fort; that he was perfectly aware of the cession of Holkar, and that it was publicly known; that he was entreated by several persons not to resist in such a cause, but that he was resolved to do so till death; his resistance and exposing himself to an assault, was therefore regulated by his own free-will: he was sensible of his guilt, and had nothing to urge in his favour. The result of the inquiry was the unanimous opinion (after the witnesses had been heard, and the killedar had been asked what he had to say in his defence, to which he replied, Nothing), that the whole of his proceedings became subject to capital punishment, which every consideration of humanity and justice urgently demanded should be inflicted on the spot."

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Sir Thomas Hislop's explanation of the execution of the killedar

This verbose account is by no means satisfactory. The killedar was not implicated in the supposed treachery of the garrison at the fifth gate, for he had previously surrendered or been made prisoner; nor could he be said in strict truth to have stood an assault, as he had laid aside his arms and become a prisoner before the storming party encountered any real opposition. The only grounds, therefore, on which the sentence admits of any plausible vindication, are that his original resistance was rebellion, and that in order to prevent the rebellion from spreading it was necessary to strike terror by making a signal example. Now it is not to be denied that the killedar in resisting the order of his sovereign to deliver up the fort was technically a rebel, but in order to fix the amount of guilt which he thus incurred, it is necessary to remember that at this period Holkar himself was merely a child, and the whole powers of government were in the hands of contending factions. The killedar, who was a man of rank, the uncle of Balaram Set, the late prime minister of Tulasi Bai, belonged to one of these factions, which had long possessed the ascendant, had only lately lost it, and was in hopes of being able to regain it. In these circumstances rebellion in the ordinary sense of the term was impossible. The order to surrender the fort, though it bore the name of Holkar, must have been viewed by the killedar as only the order of the faction to which he was opposed,

Impossibility of justifying the act

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and it was therefore preposterous in the extreme for a third party to step in and inflict the punishment of rebellion on a leader of one of the factions, for refusing to recognize and yield implicit obedience to the orders issued by another. The sentence being thus unjust cannot have been politic, and hence the other ground of vindication—the expediency of making an example—hardly requires to be discussed. It may be true, as Sir Thomas Hislop alleges, that other killedars from whom resistance might have been anticipated immediately yielded up their forts; but any advantage thus obtained must have been more than counterbalanced by the opinion which prevailed among the native troops and people generally, that the killedar had suffered wrongfully, and that the British government, in sanctioning his execution, had stained their reputation for moderation and justice.

Unjustifiable execution of the killedar

Operations in Candeish

While the different divisions of the army of the Deccan had been employed in following on the track of the fleeing Peishwa, and reducing the provinces which had hitherto acknowledged his sway, the district of Candeish had in a great measure been overlooked. The bands of Arab mercenaries who belonged to the different native armies which had been broken up, had here congregated, and as it seemed vain to expect that they would ever forget their military habits and form a peaceable and industrious population, it was determined to offer them no better terms than payment of any arrears that might be due to them, and reconveyance to their native country. As there was no reason to believe that they would voluntarily accept of these terms, compulsory measures were resorted to, and Colonel Macdowall, who had been successful with a detachment of the Hyderabad division in the line of hills north of the Godavery, was ordered to proceed for the same purpose into Candeish. Leaving Chandore on the 13th of May he marched northward, and on the 15th arrived before Malligaum, a strong fortress situated in a circular bend of the Musan, a little above its junction with the Girna, an affluent of the Taptee. Here the Arabs had mainly concentrated their force and prepared for a determined resistance.

Attempt to capture Malligaum

Malligaum consisted as usual of a fort and a pettah. The fort, in the form of a square, was protected by the river on the north and south, and inclosed by a triple wall, with a wide and deep ditch between the second wall and the first, which was lofty and built of solid masonry, with towers at the angles The entrance to it was by intricate passages, leading through nine gates furnished with excellent bomb-proofs. The pettah, situated on the eastern side, was inclosed by a partly decayed rampart, and contained many buildings of sufficient strength and height to be used as points of defence. The means which Colonel Macdowall possessed for the siege of such a place were altogether inadequate, consisting of not more than 950 firelocks, 270 pioneers, and a small detail of European artillery; but Captain Briggs, who acted as agent under Mr. Elphinstone, was in hopes of a comparatively easy capture, from

having established an understanding with part of the garrison through Rajah Bahadur, who had held the place as jaghirdar, till he was dispossessed by the Arabs, and placed under a kind of thraldom. It was soon seen that nothing was to be expected from the rajah, and that the utmost courage and science would scarcely suffice to insure success. A.D. 1818.

The south-west having been selected as the point of attack, the engineers broke ground at nightfall of the 18th of May behind a mango grove near the bank of the river. Scarcely, however, were operations commenced when a vigorous sally from the fort was made, and not repulsed till the besiegers had lost twenty-one men in killed and wounded—a loss all the more serious that one of the killed was Lieutenant Davies, an officer of great ability, who commanded the engineers. Notwithstanding this interruption, two batteries were Attempt to capture Malligaum.



THE FORT OF MALLIGAUM, West and South Sides.—From Lake's Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army, 1817-1819

thrown up in the course of the night at the distance of 500 yards, and progress continued to be made. By the 28th a breach had been effected which appeared to be practicable, and as reinforcements of 600 infantry and 500 irregular horse had in the meantime been received, and the ammunition was on the point of failing, it was resolved to risk an assault. It was made at daybreak of the 29th, and proved premature. The storming party, headed by Ensign Nattes, the surviving engineer officer, on arriving at the verge of an outwork beyond the ditch, found that the garrison had dug a trench so deep as to make it impossible to descend the glacis. Ensign Nattes, standing on the verge, was in the act of pronouncing the word "impracticable," when he was shot dead. After remaining for a short time exposed to a destructive fire, the storming party was recalled. Simultaneously with the assault an attack was made on the Pettah, and an escalade of the outer wall of the fort attempted. The former was gallantly carried by Colonel Stewart, sword in hand, but the latter was abandoned in consequence of the failure at the breach. The inadequacy of the Its failure.

A D 1818. force and the exhaustion of the ammunition having made the continuance of active operations impossible, Colonel Macdowall turned the siege into a blockade, and waited for reinforcements. These, consisting of a strong body of Europeans and a native battalion, with an additional train of artillery, and a supply of stores from the depôt at Ahmednuggur, were sent off under the command of Major Watson, and arrived on the 9th of June.

Renewed attack and capitulation of Mal'i-gium

The failure of the assault and the capture of the pettah had led to a change in the plan of attack. The intention now was to carry it on from the north and east. With this view the main body of the troops crossed the river, mines were commenced, and a battery of five heavy mortars and four howitzers was constructed. At daybreak of the 11th of June the battery opened its fire, and in the course of the day threw upwards of 300 shells in the direction where the principal magazine was known to be situated. This perseverance was crowned with success, and a tremendous explosion took place, blowing about thirty feet of the curtain outwards into the ditch, and killing and disabling many of the garrison. Preparations were again about to be made for the assault when the Arabs anticipated them by offering to capitulate. Colonel Macdowall insisted on an unconditional surrender. The garrison did not decline the terms, but dreading a repetition of what had happened at Talneer, urgently requested a written assurance that their lives would be spared. This the colonel at once conceded, and still further to allay their fears, engaged that they should be well treated.

Curious blunder as to terms of capitulation

On this occasion a striking and rather costly illustration was given of the importance of a knowledge of the native languages. The Mahratta *moonshee*, instructed to draw up the written engagement, used expressions which went far beyond what was intended, and instead of a promise of good treatment on unconditional surrender, made Colonel Macdowall engage that "whatever was most advantageous for the garrison" should be done; "that letters should be written concerning the pay; that the British government should be at the expense of feeding and recovering the sick, and that the Arabs should not want anything till they reached the places where they wished to go." These words, "where they wished to go," were a mistake for "where it was intended to send them." Abdool Kader, the principal Arab chief, with this letter in his pocket, marched out on the 14th of May at the head of his garrison, now reduced to 300 Arabs and sixty Hindostanees. The mistake was first discovered by Captain Briggs, the political agent, who, when Colonel Macdowall went to hand over the prisoners to him for the purpose of being transported to their own country, declined to receive them, on the ground that the written engagement did not warrant such treatment. Ultimately, on the whole matter being referred to Mr. Elphinstone, he never hesitated a moment to take the course which honour dictated, and the prisoners were treated with the utmost indulgence to which a liberal construction of the written engagement could entitle them. They

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The Peishwa proposes to surrender

who might perhaps be induced to make common cause with him, or of taking refuge in the strong fortress of Asseerghur, held by Scindia's nominal dependant, Jeswunt Row Lar. He had however begun to talk of surrender, and had despatched messengers to tender it to the residents at both Nagpoor and Poonah. Having on the 5th of May crossed the Taptee just below its confluence with the Poorna, he proceeded along its right bank to Chupra, but finding this route closed against him, turned suddenly north-east, and arrived at Dholkote, about thirteen miles west of Asseerghur. Here as he had gained considerably in advance of General Doveton, who had been pursuing him, he began to refresh his broken and dispirited troops. General Malcolm, who on the departure of Sir Thomas Hislop had been left in command of all the troops of the Madras army north of the Taptee, received this intelligence at Mhow, about twelve miles S.S.W. of Indore, and immediately sent off detachments to occupy the leading points on the line of the Nerbudda, and make it impossible for Bajee Row to penetrate into Malwah without being attacked On the 16th of May, Anund Row Jeswunt and two other vakeels arrived in the camp at Mhow with a letter from the Peishwa desiring peace, and requesting that General Malcolm, whom he styled one of his best and oldest friends, would undertake the re-establishment of a good understanding between him and the British government. After a long conference, in which the vakeels urged the Peishwa's request that General Malcolm would visit him in his camp, and he declined, both because it might have an injurious tendency by indicating undue solicitude for peace, and might interfere with his direction of the necessary military operations, the vakeels, made aware that "their master must prepare himself to abandon his throne and quit the Deccan," set out on the 18th of May on their return, accompanied by Lieutenants Low and Macdonald, General Malcolm's first and second political assistants.

Negotiations with that view

On the very night of their departure General Malcolm having received intelligence of Apa Sahib's escape, and feeling uncertain of the effect which it might have on the Peishwa's intentions, forwarded instructions to Lieutenant Low, directing him to allow the vakeels to proceed alone, and not to go to the Mahratta camp unless they returned in a short time with the Peishwa's special invitation to that effect. At the same time General Malcolm moved southward to Mundlesir, on the Nerbudda, where he arrived on the 22d of May, and General Doveton proceeding in an opposite direction reached Boorhanpoor, within fourteen miles of the Mahratta camp. The Peishwa, though now in great alarm, did not make any advance towards Mundlesir, and therefore General Malcolm, who had proposed to wait there for him, fearing some new evasion, crossed the Nerbudda on the morning of the 27th, and advanced by a forced march to Bekungong. The previous day the vakeels had returned with assurances of their master's sincerity, and an invitation to Lieutenant Low to proceed to his camp That officer accordingly, made fully acquainted with the

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their attachment to him, will meet with liberal attention. His representations also in favour of Brahmins of remarkable character, and of religious establishments founded or supported by his family, shall be treated with regard. 6th, The above propositions must not only be accepted by Bajee Row, but he must personally come into Brigadier-general Malcolm's camp within twenty-four hours of this period, or else hostilities will be recommenced, and no further negotiation will be entered into with him"

Terms offered to the Peishwa

These propositions were sent to Bajee Row, with a message that they could not be altered, and that not more than twenty-four hours would be allowed for their acceptance. To quicken his decision, General Malcolm had recourse to the rather petty device of allowing one of his writers to give the vakeels of the two leading Mahratta chiefs still adhering to Bajee Row a copy both of the letter sent and of the propositions submitted to him. The effect, as he was told, was, that "they perused them with eagerness, and the knowledge of the consideration meant to be given them, in the event of a settlement, appeared to quicken their zeal in no slight degree." Lest this should not prove sufficient, more active steps were taken. The main body of the British troops began to advance towards Khairee; further communication between the two camps was strictly prohibited; and Bajee Row was distinctly informed that if he did not immediately accept the terms, and encamp near the British force, he would throw away his last chance. At length Bajee Row, thoroughly intimidated, and seeing that nothing was to be gained by further evasion, began to approach the British camp, and arrived in its vicinity at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 3d of June The force which accompanied him consisted of about 5000 horse and 3000 infantry. Of the latter nearly 2000 were Arabs.

He is intimidated, and accepts them.

Perplexed situation of Bajee Row

The British and the Mahratta forces made several marches together towards the Nerbudda, General Malcolm repeatedly remonstrating with Bajee Row on the imprudence of keeping together so large a body of armed men, the greater proportion of whom must, from their situation, be discontented. Nothing, however, occurred till the 9th of June, when the Arabs demanded their arrears. They had been hired some months before by Trimbukjee Dainglia, but had only been a short time with Bajee Row. On this ground he offered to pay only for the time of their actual service with himself, whereas they insisted, with some show of reason, that they were entitled to pay from the time when they were hired. After a whole day spent in discussion no arrangement could be made, and Bajee Row, in the greatest alarm for his life, sent contradictory messages to the British camp, calling for relief, and at the same time praying that no movement towards him should be made, as he thought that the first appearance of it would be the signal for his murder. There was indeed good ground for alarm The Arabs had completely surrounded his tent, and in all probability, had they proceeded to extremes, not only Bajee Row himself, but

comprises all that part of the tribe who, preferring savage freedom and indolence to submission and industry, have continued to subsist by plunder." The name of Bheel, however, is no longer confined to those properly so called, but in consequence of intermixtures of foreign blood, and the adoption of their usages and modes of life by other classes of the community, is applied generally to all the plunderers dwelling in the mountains, and on the woody banks of rivers in the western parts of India During the period of non-interference, the Bheels of the plains lost the little civilization which had been communicated to them, and uniting with the wild mountaineers almost annihilated cultivation and commerce by their depredations; but in completing the suppression of the predatory system successful efforts were made, particularly by Captain Briggs, the political agent in Candeish, and Sir John Malcolm in Malwah. Partly by severity, but far more by judicious measures of conciliation, a great proportion of the Bheels have been reduced to order, and a Bheel militia, disciplined and commanded by British officers, have made the most lawless districts secure both to the farmer and the traveller.

A D 1818.

The Bheels.

Towards the eastern extremity, where the ranges attain their greatest height, and separate Bengal and Orissa from Berar, the inhabitants, in some respects still more barbarous than the Bheels, consist of various tribes, of which the principal are the Koles, the Khands, and the Gonds. Some of them lead an agricultural, and more a pastoral life, but a large proportion depend for subsistence on the wild fruits and wild animals of their almost impenetrable thickets. Their chief weapons are bows and arrows, and long knives; their only luxury is ardent spirits, in which they indulge to the greatest excess; and their sanguinary deities, before the British government put down the abomination, were often propitiated by human victims. The Gonds, by far the most numerous tribe, spread from the southern and western limits of Behar into Berar, and for some distance westward along the valley of the Nerbudda. Some of them consequently were the nominal subjects of the Rajah of Nagpoor, and hence it is easy to understand how the ex-rajah Apa Sahib sought and found an asylum among them. His protector was Chain Sah, who had usurped the rights of his nephew, the chief of Harai or Heryc, and by extending his authority over several adjacent districts had the seat of his power among the Mahadeo Hills, situated on the east of the road leading between Nagpoor and Hoshungabad.

The Koles, Khands, and Gonds.

Apa Sahib's place of refuge was no sooner known than he was joined by various other Gond chiefs, as professed vassals of Berar, and by bands of Mahrattas, Pindarees, and Arabs, whom late events had thrown out of employment. The whole number of adventurers whom he thus gathered around him fell little short of 20,000, and acting in parties, amounting occasionally to 2000 or 3000 immediately commenced a war of posts on the British detachments. The season of the year did not admit of a regular campaign, but in order to confine the

Apa Sahib and [illegible] the Gonds.

them an opportunity of dispersing. Not thinking himself yet secure, or because Jeswunt Row was afraid to risk the consequences of harbouring him, Apa Sahib set out in the disguise of a religious mendicant to Boorhanpoor, and after a short concealment there, proceeded through Malwah towards Gwalior. Scindia though not indisposed was afraid to countenance him, and he found no resting-place till he entered the Punjab, and obtained a friendly reception from Runjeet Sing. At a later period the Rajah of Joudpoor, on becoming responsible for his conduct, was allowed to give him an asylum. A worse fate was reserved for Cheetoo On the dispersion of his followers at Aseerghur he fled north with his son, crossed the Nerbudda, and attempted to penetrate into Malwah by traversing the Vindhya Mountains. On finding the Baglee Pass carefully guarded he parted from his son, and was not afterwards seen alive. A party of Holkar's cavalry passing from Baglee to Kantapoor perceived a horse wandering alone. Having caught it and recognized it to be Cheetoo's, they made a search in a neighbouring thicket notoriously infested by tigers. At first they found a sword, parts of a dress torn and stained with blood, some money, and some recent grants which Cheetoo had obtained from the ex-Rajah of Nagpoor, and part of a human body. There could now be little doubt that he had met a death not unbefitting the kind of life he had led, and been seized by a tiger That there might remain no doubt of the fact the animal was traced to its den. It had just fled, leaving behind it a human head in so perfect a state, that when brought to Sir John Malcolm's camp, it was at once recognized by Cheetoo's son, who had been made prisoner, and given up to him for interment.

A D 1818

Escape of Apa Sahib

Fate of Cheetoo.

The design of Apa Sahib to seek an asylum in Aseerghur having been penetrated by the British government, Scindia, who had engaged previous to the war to yield it up for temporary occupation, was called upon to fulfil this engagement. He complied with apparent readiness, and sending orders to deliver it up to Sir John Malcolm, repaired to Gwalior. Jeswunt Row professed similar readiness, but spun out the time by evasive pleas, till Apa Sahib actually arrived and gained admittance as already mentioned. By this act, and still more by firing on the troops in pursuit of Cheetoo, Jeswunt Row had shown that nothing but force could compel him to yield up the fort, and therefore Sir John Malcolm and General Doveton were instructed to employ the forces at their disposal in reducing it. They accordingly arrived in its vicinity and took up their positions, Sir John Malcolm on the north, and General Doveton on the south.

Preparations against Aseerghur

A D 1819

Fort of Aseerghur.

to the irregularity of its outline, not nearly so large as these figures to indicate. Within the area were two depressions or basins, in sufficient supply of water for the garrison throughout the year collected, but this advantage, seldom enjoyed by a hill-fort, was terbalanced by the numerous ravines which afforded cover to an making his approaches. The wall inclosing the area was only a low but nothing more was required, as the whole precipice was carefully on all sides to the depth of 120 feet, so as to make access impossible two points, the one on the north, and the other on the south-west principal task, therefore, which art had to accomplish was to fo avenues. The one on the north, naturally the more difficult of the carried up a precipitous ravine, and was in its upper part defended by rampart containing four casemates, with embrasures 18 feet both and thickness, and 190 feet in length across the approach. The more used avenue, after ascending from the town to the lower fort, wh surrounded by a rampart 30 feet high, and flanked with towers, was by a steep flight of stone steps traversing five successive gateways structed of solid masonry. The guns placed in battery on the summi rock were of enormous calibre. One of them carried a ball of 380 weight, and was believed by the natives capable of lodging it at Boorh a distance of fourteen miles.

Its capture.

Operations were commenced on the 18th of March, 1819, by the a the town, which was carried with little resistance, the garrison reti the lower fort. Batteries were immediately constructed notwith spirited sally, and by the 21st a practicable breach was effected. The not venturing to stand an assault retired to the upper fort, but imm after took advantage of the explosion of a powder magazine belonging of the batteries, to return and resume their fire. This however silenced, and on the 30th, when preparations were again made for the lower fort, the assailants were allowed to take possession of it struggle. Meanwhile General Doveton had moved round with the p part of the heavy ordnance to the east face, from which side it seemed upper fort could be most advantageously attacked. The progress, impe many obstacles, was necessarily slow, but by the 7th of April the were so ruined that Jeswunt Row consented to an unconditional The loss of the besiegers, amounting to 313 killed and wounded, was than that of the garrison.

According to agreement, Aseerghur, of which the British were only to temporary occupation, was to be restored to Scindia, but an pected discovery within the place itself rendered this unnecessary. known that Bajee Row had deposited valuable jewels in the fort. T mandant, on being ordered to produce them, declared that they ha

returned. This not being believed, he engaged to show Bajee Row's receipt. A D 1819.
It was contained in a casket among other papers, one of which was observed
by an officer who stood by to be in Scindia's handwriting. On mentioning Discovery of Scindia's treachery.
the circumstance the commandant betrayed so much confusion that it was
deemed proper to seize the casket, and examine its contents The paper which
had attracted observation proved to be a letter from Scindia instructing the
commandant to obey whatever orders the Peishwa might give him, and refuse
delivery of the fort to the English. When charged with this treachery Scindia
and his ministers did not venture to deny it. They only attempted a kind of
apology by alleging that any message sent to Jeswunt Row could only be con-
sidered as words of course, since it was well known that that officer would
only do what was pleasing to himself. To give some colour to this apology,
Scindia even admitted that he had invited Bajee Row to Gwalior merely
because he knew that it was impossible for him to come. In justification of
this double duplicity, he simply remarked how natural it was for a man seeing
his friend struggling in the water and crying for help, to stretch out the hand
and speak words of comfort, though aware that he could give him no assistance.
The penalty inflicted by the governor-general was to retain permanent posses-
sion of Aseerghur and its district: Scindia, who had feared a heavier punish-
ment, was glad to escape so easily.

As military operations terminated with the capture of Aseerghur, and the Results of the war
armies returned to their usual cantonments in time of peace, we are now in a
position to form an estimate of the results of the war. At first sight the pre-
parations seemed far greater than the occasion required. The ostensible object
was to put down a number of predatory hordes, who, though they mustered
their tens of thousands, were known to be incapable of carrying out a regular
campaign, and never ventured to fight a pitched battle. But though the
Pindarees were by no means formidable in themselves, they had powerful
supporters who would gladly have come to the rescue if they had seen the least
chance of success. As it was, three of the leading Mahratta powers did break
out into open hostilities, and Scindia was only deterred from following their
example by the judicious measures which had been taken to bring an over- Its danger.
whelming force to bear upon him. The danger was that a great Mahratta
confederacy would be formed, and make it necessary to wage a new war for
supremacy. The salutary fear inspired by the strong force maintained in
action by the governor-general, induced each Mahratta power to keep aloof in
order to consult its own safety, and thus made it easy, when hostilities did
actually commence, to encounter them separately, and beat them in detail.

The powerful armies which the governor-general brought into the field,
while they overawed the Mahrattas, were necessary in order to carry out the
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A. D. 1819.

Necessity for the British maintaining a powerful army in India.

our own security by leaving the native states to waste themselves in preying upon each other, we had allowed a kind of general anarchy to prevail, and could not be aroused to a sense of the true position we were called to maintain till we began to count the cost, and found that in order to prevent the anarchy from spreading into our own territories, we were incurring as much expense as would suffice to suppress it altogether, and bring back tranquillity. For this purpose it was necessary not merely to convince the states to which we had refused protection that we were now disposed to grant it, but to show by the actual forces which we mustered that we were able and willing to make it good against all who might venture to call it in question. It was this which made the Rajpoot and other chiefs so eager to obtain our alliance, and induced them virtually to sacrifice their independence for the sake of the security which they knew we could afford them From this period the British government was recognized as umpire in all disputes between sovereign native states, and an appeal to its decision has been happily substituted for the former invariable appeal to the sword.

British ascendancy established.

In contemplating the vastness of the change one cannot help wondering at the comparative facility with which it was accomplished. Numerous encounters took place, and the superiority of British skill and courage was never more fully manifested; but no great battles were fought, and yet how vast the revolution which has been effected! Scindia so humbled that he dared not take a single step in favour of those to whom it was notorious that he had pledged his support; Holkar, who was at one time so formidable as, single-handed, to defy the whole British power, left in possession of little more than half his original territories, and these so intersected and dismembered as to be incapable of acting together for any common purpose; one Rajah of Nagpoor, after forfeiting a large portion of his territories, deposed, and unable to find an asylum without fleeing to one of the extremities of India, and another placed on the musnud solely by British influence; and last of all, the very name of Peishwa, the acknowledged head of the Mahratta confederacy, abolished, and the last individual who bore it exiled to Bengal, to live under British authority, and subsist as a pensioner on British bounty, while his extensive territories have been annexed to the British dominions, either absolutely or in effect. In various quarters, too, while important accessions of territory have been gained, an influence in some respects as valuable as territory has been acquired. Our alliances have been extended over all Rajpootana, including not only the leading states of Odeypoor, Joudpoor, and Jeypoor, but the extensive though remote and barren territories of Jessulmeer and Bikaneer, together with the minor states of Kotah, Boondee, Kerowlee, Siroki, Banswara, &c. In all these states the Mahratta influence, once paramount and used only for purposes of oppression, has been completely destroyed, while British ascendency, besides being stipulated by treaty, has been further secured by the cession of

the central province of Ajmeer, formerly held in bondage by a nominal dependant of Scindia. In Bundelcund the reduction of refractory zemindars has put an end to the lawless exactions by which the cultivators were oppressed, and the whole country kept in constant alarm; and while the Nabob of Bhopaul has been rewarded for his fidelity to his engagements by considerable accessions of territory, and relief from indefinite Mahratta claims which were continually threatening his independence, the neighbouring chief of Saugur, for refusing to fulfil his engagements, has paid the penalty, and seen his territory finally merged in that of the Company. A.D 1819

British ascendency established.

It is of importance to remember that the extensive acquisitions of territory made during, and in consequence of the war, were not originally contemplated The suppression of the predatory system, as it was the ostensible, was also the real object for which the Marquis of Hastings brought the armies into the field, and hence all the districts from which the Pindarees were expelled, instead of being retained as lawful conquests, were at once restored to the states from which they had been dissevered. The same course would have been followed to the end, and the war, however much it might have added to British influence, would have terminated without increasing the extent of British territory. The Mahrattas brought their fate upon themselves by their open hostilities or secret treachery; and the British, after being forced into such struggles as took place at Poonah, the Seetabaldee Hills, and Mahidpoor, had no alternative but to provide against their recurrence by deposing or curtailing the territories of the chiefs who, while professing friendship, had thus treacherously assailed them. Though it cannot be supposed that the humiliations thus experienced did not leave rankling feelings behind them, it has been satisfactorily proved that both Scindia and Holkar, by exchanging a condition bordering on anarchy for one of comparative tranquillity, gained more in revenue than they had lost in territory. Sir John Malcolm, contrasting Central India in 1817 and 1821, says:—"Dowlut Row Scindia has already derived a double benefit from the change in the reduction of his army, and the increase of his revenue ' "The saving in actual expenditure, from reductions alone, cannot be less than twenty lacs of rupees per annum; and it is difficult to calculate the amount of money and tranquillity gained by the extinction of men like Bapoo Scindia and Jeswunt Row Bhao, and other leaders who commanded those bodies of his army which were at once the most useless and expensive. In 1817 there was not one district belonging to Scindia in Central India that was not more or less in a disturbed state; in 1821 there existed not one enemy to the public peace The progress of improvement in his territories differs in every part; but it is general." "On the whole of Scindia's territories in this part of India, we may safely compute a rise of about 25 per cent in the revenue, and a deduction of 15 in the expenses of its collection." Of Holkar's dominions he speaks in still more flattering terms:—"The revenues of Holkar from his possessions in

Extension of territory not originally contemplated.

Indirect advantages secured to Scindia.

A.D. 1819

Malwah and Nemaur were in 1817, 441,679 rupees (£44,167); in 1819-20 they were 1,696,183 rupees (£169,618). The expenses of collection were four years ago from 35 to 40 per cent.; they do not now exceed 15 per cent.; there being in fact hardly any *sebundy* or revenue corps kept up. The proximity of the British troops, with the knowledge of the support and protection which that government affords to the Holkar territories, has hitherto continued to preserve them in tranquillity." In order to give a more complete idea of what he calls "the rapid resuscitation of this state," Sir John Malcolm has inserted in the appendix to his *Central India*, a table, showing that, of 3701 government villages belonging to Holkar, "there were in 1817 only 2038 inhabited; 1663 were deserted, or, as the natives emphatically term it, without lamp. In 1818, 269 villages were restored; in 1819, 343; and in 1820, 508, leaving only 543 deserted; and there can be no doubt that within three years, these will be re-populated." The progress of improvement was equally satisfactory in other quarters. The Puar states of Dhar and Dewass, which were nearly depopulated, had commenced a career of prosperity; Bhopaul, which in 1817 struggled for existence, was "in a state of rapid improvement;" the petty Rajpoot states had experienced "as great an improvement as any in Central India;" and this description applied, "with a little difference, to all the Rajpoot principalities east and west of the Chumbul." Some miscellaneous transactions for which no place in the narrative has yet been found may now be mentioned.

Indirect advantages secured to Holkar by British interference in Central India



Rajah of Cutch.
From Mrs. Postan's Cutch

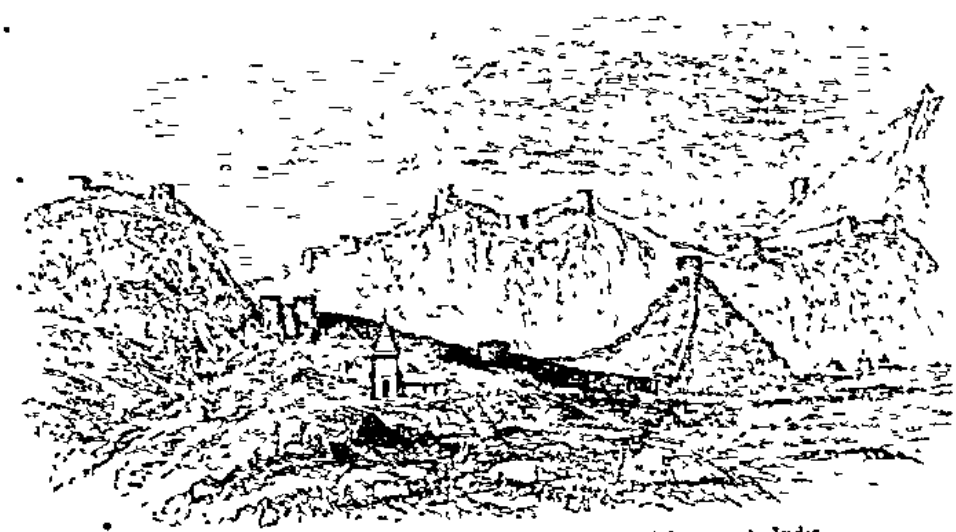
Row Barmaljee, the Rajah of Cutch, with whom, it will be remembered, the British government had concluded a treaty, had surrounded himself with dissolute companions, and indulged to such an extent in intemperate habits as to affect his intellect. His whole conduct was that of a cruel and capricious tyrant The young prince Lakhpati or Ladhuba, who had competed with him for the sovereignty, was barbarously murdered by his orders; and Ladhuba's widow, who had been left pregnant and afterwards gave birth to a son, would have shared her husband's fate had not the British government thrown its shield around her With such a brutal prince it was impossible that friendly relations could be durable, and he began almost openly to make military preparations The British thus forewarned reinforced their station at Anjar with an additional battalion; and Barmaljee, now afraid to risk the encounter, turned his arms against Kallian Sing, the father of Ladhuba's widow, and one of the Jhareja chiefs under British protection This infringement of the treaty was not allowed to pass unnoticed, and the approach of a British detachment,

State of affairs in Cutch

combined with the little success which had attended his operations, compelled him to a hasty retreat. The detachment then advanced upon Bhooj on the 24th of March, 1819, and after repulsing large masses of horse and foot by which they were charged, carried the fort by surprise. As it completely commanded the town, Barmaljee saw the fruitlessness of further resistance, and surrendered at discretion. By concert with the Jhareja chiefs he was deposed, and the government was administered, in the name of his infant son Row Desal, by a native regency, under the direction of the resident and the guarantee of the British government. In the treaty concluded at this time clauses were inserted against the practice of female infanticide, which prevailed to a horrible extent among the Jharejas. It is not unworthy of notice that Cutch, shortly after these political commotions, suffered dreadfully from an earthquake.

A.D 1819

Capture of Bhooj.



HILL-FORT OF BHOOJ.—From Mrs Elwood's Overland Journey to India.

An enormous mound of earth and sand many miles in extent was heaved up, and at the same time an adjacent tract of country sunk down and was submerged. At Bhooj 7000 houses were thrown down, and 1140 persons buried among the ruins At Anjar about 3000 houses were thrown down or rendered uninhabitable, and the fort became a pile of ruins. Many other towns were wholly or partially destroyed. The volcanic agency, though most tremendous in Cutch, was not confined to it, and simultaneous shocks were felt in many other parts of India.

Dreadful earthquake

The political arrangements in Cutch gave great umbrage to the Ameers of Scinde. They had long been bent on the conquest of it, and were mortified to find their designs anticipated. The feelings of enmity to the British government thus engendered were aggravated by other circumstances The confines of Gujerat and Cutch had been pillaged by the Khosas and other marauding tribes on the borders of the desert of Scinde. In order to suppress these ravages the co-operation of the Ameers had been requested, and they had sent a body of

Relations with the Ameers of Scinde

A D 1819.

troops to act with a British detachment sent against the plunderers under Colonel Barclay, from Pulanpoor, near the northern confines of Gujerat. The Scindian auxiliaries, so far from aiding in the expulsion of the Khosas, allowed them to encamp without molestation in their vicinity, and when Colonel Barclay attacked the marauders and dispersed them, complained as if they themselves had been the direct object of attack. New ground of offence was given when the British troops, in pursuing the fugitives, crossed the Scinde frontier. The Ameers, without deigning to ask for explanation, or attempting an amicable arrangement, at once took redress into their own hands by invading Cutch with a body of troops, which advancing within fifty miles of Bhooj, took the town of Loona, and laid waste the adjacent country. On the advance of a British detachment they retired, but the Bombay government refused to overlook the aggression, and threatened to retaliate by sending a division into Scinde. The Ameers, not yet prepared for hostilities, disowned the proceedings of their troops, and sent apologies both to Bombay and Bhooj The governor-general was not at this time disposed to risk a new war which did not seem to him to promise any profitable result; and therefore, accepting the disavowal as a sufficient apology, he authorized the conclusion of a treaty, which simply stipulated that the Ameers should procure the liberation of the prisoners and restrain the Khosas and other marauders from making inroads on the British or their allies The reasons which induced the supreme government to adopt this pacific course were put on record, and are sufficiently curious to justify a quotation: "Few things would be more impolitic than a war with Scinde, as its successful prosecution would not only be unprofitable but an evil The country was not worth possessing, and its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars, and incalculable embarrassments of the countries beyond the Indus. Hostilities might become unavoidable hereafter, but it was wise to defer their occurrence as long as possible."

Hostile proceedings of the Ameers of Scinde

State of affairs in Gujerat

The state of affairs in the neighbouring territories of Gujerat has already been partly explained. The imbecile Guicowar, Anand Row, retained possession of the musnud, while the government was administered by his brother, Futteh Sing, in concert with the British resident. On Futteh Sing's death, in 1818, Syajee Row, a younger brother, of the age of nineteen, took his place, and with this exception, the arrangement continued as before An important change, however, took place when Anand Row died in 1819. By this event Syajee Row became Guicowar. He was not disposed to forego any of his rights, and argued with much plausibility that since he had been considered fit to conduct the government as regent to his predecessor, he must surely be capable of conducting it, now that the sole right of sovereignty was legally vested in himself. There was therefore no longer any occasion for the control of the British resident. Though the claims of the new Guicowar to independent authority were acknowledged, it was foreseen that the uncontrolled exercise of

it would endanger both British interests and the prosperity of the country, and Mr. Elphinstone, now become governor of Bombay, judged it necessary to repair to Baroda for the purpose of placing the future intercourse of the two states on a proper basis. The deposition of the Peishwa had conferred many important advantages on the Guicowar. It had relieved him from large pecuniary claims, and procured for him important territorial acquisitions; and therefore, as the British government had undertaken the entire defence of the country, it was considered fair that the quantity of territory ceded for subsidy should be considerably increased. Still, however, it was supposed that the revenues had been brought into such a prosperous state as to be well able to bear the additional burden. Great was Mr. Elphinstone's astonishment to learn that the finances were in a state of embarrassment Above £1,000,000 sterling of debt remained undischarged; the expenditure of the two last years had exceeded the receipts; the troops were largely in arrears; and the tributaries, partly from bad seasons, but still more from oppressive exactions, were suffering severe distress. Under these circumstances the idea of abandoning all control over the internal administration was necessarily abandoned, and after providing for the discharge of the debt by means of loans raised at a reduced rate of interest, on the security of assignments of revenue and a British guarantee, a final arrangement was made to the following effect—The British government should have the exclusive management of foreign affairs, and the Guicowar, so long as he fulfilled the engagements which the British had guaranteed, should conduct the internal affairs, subject, however, to the following provisos—that he should consult with the British government in the appointment of his minister, and that the resident should have free access at all times to inspect the public account, be apprised of all proposed financial measures at the commencement of each year, and be consulted before any expense of magnitude was to be incurred

A D 1820



THE HONOURABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.
After a picture by Sir T. Lawrence and J. Simpson

New arrangement with the Guicowar

Before leaving Gujerat some notice is due to an expedition undertaken in 1820 against the piratical tribes which continued to infest the north-western coast of the peninsula. Tempted by the withdrawal of the British troops for the Mahratta war, the Wagars of Okamandal rose in insurrection, surprised Dwaraka and Beyt, and meeting with no adequate force to oppose them, made themselves masters of the whole district. They had been in undisputed possession of it for several months when the Honourable Colonel Stanhope, who had

Expedition against the pirates of Gujerat

A.D 1820. been sent by sea at the head of an expedition, consisting of his majesty's 65th regiment, two battalions of Bombay infantry with details of artillery, and the 1st regiment of native cavalry, arrived off Dwaraka The troops were landed on the 26th of November, and after a short bombardment carried the town by escalade. The garrison, composed chiefly of Arabs and natives of Scinde, retired into the great temple, whose solid and lofty walls seemed to defy all ordinary means of attack. An entrance was however effected from the roof of an adjoining house, and of 500 men who had taken refuge within the temple and been driven out, not more than 100 escaped This signal chastisement so intimidated the chiefs, who had taken up strong positions within the thicket, that they surrendered at discretion. The garrison of Beyt also capitulated, and the insurrection was completely suppressed.

Suppression of piratical insurrection in Gujerat



Wagars.—From Mrs Postan's Wanderings in India.

Relations with Oude

Discussions which had been carried on between the Nabob of Oude and Major Baillie, the British resident at his court during the administration of Lord Minto, after being suppressed for a time, recommenced shortly after the arrival of his successor. The great subject of debate was the degree to which the resident was entitled to interfere with the internal administration of the nabob, the latter striving to limit, and the former to extend it as much as possible. Earl Minto had decided in favour of the resident, but quitted India before any steps had been taken in accordance with his decision Meantime an event took place which promised to lead to an amicable adjustment. The nabob, Sadut Ali, whose ruling passion had been avarice, died on the 11th of July, 1814, leaving an accumulated treasure of £13,000,000 sterling. He was succeeded by his eldest son, by the title of Ghazee-u-din Hyder, who, aware how much he was indebted to Major Baillie for the ease with which he obtained the succession, showed his gratitude by consulting him in the choice of his ministers, and consenting to several of the reforms which had been urged in vain upon his father. This satisfactory state of matters did not last long. Some of the resident's reforms, not being in accordance with native prejudices, were very unpopular, and the nabob began to suspect that he would have acted more wisely if, instead of consulting him, he had taken his own way. While under this impression, he paid a visit to Earl Moira, who had arrived at Cawnpore to be near the scene of action during the Nepaulese war, and shortly

afterwards returned with him to Lucknow. On this occasion the young nabob offered a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as a free gift to the Company. It was accepted as a loan, and registered as a public debt, bearing interest at the government current rate of 6 per cent. A.D. 1820.

Loan by the Nabob of Oude to the Company.

At the time when the nabob offered his present, he delivered a paper which, while professing personal regard for the resident, indicated a desire to be less subject to his control. The governor-general having learned privately that the nabob's feelings on this subject were much stronger than he had ventured to express, took a questionable, and certainly a very undignified method of arriving at the truth, by not only holding personal conferences with the nabob, but allowing members both of his civil and military staff to hold them also, and then listening to the tales which they brought him. Little reliance could be placed on information thus obtained, more especially as the nabob never seemed to be of one mind, making complaints one day, and retracting them the next; but the governor-general satisfied himself that the nabob was not treated with all the deference which, according to his lordship's notions, was due to regal state. He therefore instructed the resident to treat the nabob on all public occasions as an independent prince; to be strict in the observance of all established ceremonials; and to confine advice or remonstrance upon any mismanagement in the nabob's administration to such occasions as might endanger British interests. Not long after receiving these instructions, the resident was desired to apply to the nabob for a second crore of rupees. They were obtained, and furnished another seasonable supply for the Nepaulese war. It would seem however that the nabob parted with the money more by constraint than willingly, and felt more than ever dissatisfied with the resident as the instrument employed in exacting it. He displayed his resentment by becoming more hostile than ever to all kinds of reform, and removing from his counsels all the persons known to have the resident's support. Major Baillie, attributing these proceedings of the nabob not so much to caprice or personal resentment as to factious intrigues encouraged by the course which the governor-general had pursued with regard to him, forwarded in September, 1815, a letter dated five months before, in which he gave free utterance to his feelings. The governor-general in replying did not hesitate to express his opinion that the resident had displayed a grasping and domineering spirit, which justified the jealousy and resentment of both the late and the present nabob. In consequence of this rupture, the governor-general in council removed Major Baillie, and thus freed the nabob from all control in his internal administration. This change was followed by great cordiality between the two governments, and to the satisfaction of both the loan of the second crore of rupees was discharged in May, 1816, by a treaty which commuted it for a tract of territory which belonged to the British government, and was situated to the north-west of Oude, on the frontiers of Nepaul. The governor-general, satisfied that the affairs of the country had

He complains of being subjected to undue control.

Governor-general's opinion in regard to proceedings of British resident.

A.D. 1822

improved since the irritating interference with the internal administration had ceased, ventured to recommend another change, with the view of giving Oude still more the character of an independent sovereignty.

The Nabob of Oude assumes the title of king

The Nabobs of Oude had hitherto been satisfied with the title of Nabob Vizier, intimating that they were the hereditary viziers or prime ministers of the Great Mogul They were accordingly regarded not as the equals, but as the servants of the King of Delhi. So much was this distinction regarded in practice, that the governor-general, during a second visit to Lucknow, was witness to an act of humiliation imposed by it. Two brothers of the King of Delhi were living there on pensions furnished partly by the Company and partly by the nabob Notwithstanding this subordinate position, etiquette gave them such decided precedence, that when the nabob met them in the streets of his own capital, his elephant was made to kneel in token of homage. The thing seemed to the governor-general so incongruous, that he suggested to the nabob the propriety of ridding himself of all such forms of servility. He had advised him on his accession to dispense with application to Delhi for confirmation or investiture, and he now advised him to assume a title which would declare him to be no longer the servant, but the equal of the Mogul. The only restriction was, that change of title should make no change in the nabob's relations with the British government. The governor-general seems to have been apprehensive that the throne of Delhi might be occupied by a prince hostile to British union, and he therefore deemed it good policy to convert the two heads of the Mahometans in India into rival sovereigns. The nabob, whose pride and ambition were thus flattered, hastened to act on the governor-general's suggestion, and in 1819, to the extreme indignation of the court of Delhi, and the dissatisfaction of Mahometans generally, issued a proclamation declaring his future designation to be *Abu Muzuffar, Moiz-ud-din, Shah-i-Zaman, Ghazi-ud-din, Hyder Shah, Padshah-i-Awadh,* "the Victorious—the Upholder of the Faith—the King of the Age—Ghazi-ud-din, Hyder Shah—King of Oude." The soundness of the governor-general's judgment in this matter has been questioned; but the subject was too insignificant to deserve all the discussion which it provoked, and has already lost any little interest which once belonged to it. In regard to the condition of Oude, it is necessary only further to add, that it scarcely justified the flattering picture which the governor-general drew of the happy consequences resulting from the nabob's uncontrolled internal management. British troops were repeatedly called out to assist in reducing refractory zemindars; and in the beginning of 1822, in the vicinity of Sultanpoor alone, a British detachment dismantled above seventy of their forts Bands of armed robbers countenanced by the zemindars and connived at by the police, haunted the jungles, and not unfrequently passed the frontier to carry on their depredations within the British territory.

Misgovernment in Oude.

The relations with the Nizam did not undergo much change during the

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